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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NEW HAMPSHIRE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME II.

JUNE, 1888, TO JUNE, 1895.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

CONCORD:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1895.

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TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY:

This volume consists of four parts, printed respectively in 1889, 1891, 1894, and 1895.

In binding the volume the title pages to the several parts should be omitted.

PUBLISHING COMMITTEES.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>Part 1, pages 1-64.</i> | { CHARLES H. BELL,
ISAAC W. HAMMOND,
ALBERT S. BATCHELLOR. |
| <i>Part 2, pages 65-205.</i> | { CHARLES H. BELL,
CHARLES L. TAPPAN,
GEORGE L. BALCOM. |
| <i>Part 3, pages 206-349.</i> | { CHARLES L. TAPPAN,
JOHN L. FARWELL,
ALBERT S. WAIT. |
| <i>Part 4, pages 350-498.</i> | { CHARLES L. TAPPAN,
JOHN C. ORDWAY,
ALBERT S. WAIT. |

F
31
N52
v. 2

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Records of the Sixty-Sixth Annual Meeting, June 13, 1888,	3
Records of the 1st Adjourned Sixty-Sixth Annual Meeting, June 21, 1888	3-61
Annual Report of the Recording Secretary	3
" " Treasurer	5
" " Librarian	6
" " Publishing Committee	9
Centennial Anniversary of the Ratification of the Con- stitution of the United States by New Hampshire,	12-61
Address, by Hon. James W. Patterson, Hanover	13
Poem, by Allen Eastman Cross, Manchester	37
Addresses after the Banquet, by,—	
Hon. Samuel C. Eastman, Concord	40
Gov. Charles H. Sawyer, Dover	40
President Bartlett, D. D., Hanover	43
Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D. D., Boston, Mass.,	44
Hon. Hampton L. Carson, Philadelphia, Pa.	44
Hon. Mellen Chamberlain	44
Hon. James W. Patterson, Hanover	45
Allen Eastman Cross, Manchester	45
Hon. Frank B. Sanborn, Concord, Mass.	45
Hon. George B. Loring, Salem, Mass.	46
Letters received from,—	
Rev. Henry A. Hazen, Boston, Mass. (Washing- ton's letter)	46
Hon. Henry W. Blair, Washington, D. C.	49
Hon. C. W. Darling, Utica, N. Y.	50
Hon. John A. Kasson, Iowa	52
Hon. J. Wyman Jones, Englewood, New Jersey	52
Josiah L. Pickard, Pres't State Hist. Society, Iowa,	53
William Sellers, Philadelphia, Pa.	54

Letters received from,—

C. H. Reeve, Plymouth, Indiana	55
Samuel E. Pingree, Hartford, Vermont	56
Walbridge A. Field, Boston, Mass.	57
William A. Preston, New Ipswich	57
John Ward Dean, Boston, Mass.	58
John A. King, Pres't of the New York Historical Society	59
Brinton Coxe, Pres't of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania	59
Records of the 2d Adjourned Sixty-Sixth Annual Meeting, Sept. 5, 1888	61-62
Records of the 3d Adjourned Sixty-Sixth Annual Meeting, Nov. 15, 1888	63
Records of the 4th Adjourned Sixty-Sixth Annual Meeting, Dec. 20, 1888	63-64
Address of Edmund F. Slafter, D. D., "Northmen," Apr. 24, 1888	65
Records of the Sixty-Seventh Annual Meeting, June 12, 1889,	85-119
Annual Report of the Recording Secretary	85
" " Treasurer	86
" " Librarian	87
" " Publishing Committee	89
Annual Address, by Hon. Ezra S. Stearns, "The Offering of Lunenburg, Mass., to Cheshire County," Paper, by Isaac W. Hammond, Esq., "New Hamp- shire under the Federal Constitution"	92
Records of 1st Adjourned Sixty-Seventh Annual Meeting, Sept. 16, 1889	107
Records of the 2d Adjourned Sixty-Seventh Annual Meeting and Annual Field Day at Durham, October 10, 1889	120
Records of 3d Adjourned Sixty-Seventh Annual Meeting, February 25, 1888	121
Records of 4th Adjourned Sixty-Seventh Annual Meeting, March 3, 1890	122-151
Address, by Hon. Charles R. Corning, "An Exploit in King William's War, 1697: Hannah Dustan"	122
Records of 5th Adjourned Sixty-Seventh Annual Meeting, March 18, 1890	152-175
Address, by Harry G. Sargent, Esq., "The Bradley Massacre"	152

Records of the Sixty-Eighth Annual Meeting, June 11, 1890, 175-198	
Annual Report of the Recording Secretary	175
" " Treasurer	177
" " Librarian	178
Resolutions in regard to the Gen. John Sullivan Mss. . .	178
How the John Sullivan Mss. are to be kept	182
Annual Address, by Hon. John J. Bell	182
Records of the 1st Adjourned Sixty-Eighth Annual Meeting and Annual Field Day, at Hampton, Sept. 12, 1890	198-199
Life Members	200
Resident Members	201
Portrait and Sketch of Hon. Charles H. Bell	207
Records of the Sixty-Ninth Annual Meeting, June 10, 1891, 213-233	
Presentation of the Bust of Lafayette, by B. A. Kimball	213
Annual Report of the Treasurer	215
" " Librarian	216
" " Publishing Committee	218
Annual Address, by Hon. Samuel C. Eastman, "Tendencies towards Socialism,"	223
Records of the 1st Adjourned Sixty-Ninth Annual Meeting and Annual Field Day at Claremont and Charles- town, Sept. 30, 1891	233-257
Address, by Maj. Otis F. R. Waite, "The Early His- tory of the Town of Claremont"	234
Records of the Seventieth Annual Meeting, June 8, 1892 . 257-277	
Annual Report of the Treasurer	258
" " Librarian	259
Presentation of a Copy of General Dix's Immortal Order, .	262
Annual Address, by Rev. Henry A. Hazen, D. D., "New Hampshire and Vermont: An Historical Study"	265
Records of the 1st Adjourned Seventieth Annual Meeting and Annual Field Day at Plymouth, October 13, 1892	278-279
Records of the Seventy-First Annual Meeting, June 14, 1893, 280-331	
Report of the Treasurer—new members qualified	280
Annual Report of the Treasurer	281
" " Librarian	282

Records of the Seventy-First Annual Meeting, June 14, 1893:	
Report of the Special Committee, "On Procuring a Naval History of New Hampshire"	284
Annual Address, by Hon. Chester B. Jordan (read by A. S. Batchellor), "Sketch of Col. Joseph Whipple"	289
Address, by Hon. John J. Bell (not delivered on account of illness)	321
Portrait and Sketch of Hon. John J. Bell	331
Records of the 1st Adjourned Seventy-First Annual Meeting and Annual Field Day at Hillsborough, Oct. 3, 1893	
	332-348
Address, by Hon. Amos Hadley, "History of Hills- borough"	333
Records of the 2d Adjourned Seventy-First Annual Meeting, 348-349	
Records of the Seventy-Second Annual Meeting, June 13, 1884,	
	351-361
Annual Report of the Treasurer	351
" " Librarian	352
" " Standing Committee	355
1. On the Bounds of this Society's Lot	355
2. On the Library of Mr. Sabine	355
3. In regard to quarterly meetings	356
Annual Report of the Publishing Committee	357
Presentation of the County Maps of New Hampshire, by Hon. Henry M. Baker	358
Records of the 1st Adjourned Seventy-Second Annual Meet- ing, Sept. 12, 1894	
	361-400
Report of the Committee on the Sabine Library, with Letters to and from Mrs. Sabine	362
Paper of Hon. S. C. Eastman, in regard to the Plumer Memoirs	364
Annual Address, by Judge Edgar Aldrich, "The Indian Stream Controversy"	366
Records of the 2d Adjourned Seventy-Second Annual Meet- ing and Annual Field Day, at Franklin, Oct. 4, 1894	
	400-404
Address, by Hon. Amos Hadley	402
Records of the 3d Adjourned Seventy-Second Annual Meet- ing, Dec. 13, 1894	
	405-407
Report of the Committee on Mr. Eastman's paper on Plumer Memoirs	405

Records of the 3d Adjourned Seventy-Second Annual Meeting, Dec. 13, 1894:	
Address, by Hon. Roswell Farnham of Bradford, Vt., "The Life and Public Services of Gen. Israel Morey" (the address has not been received)	407
Records of the 4th Adjourned Seventy-Second Annual Meeting, March 20, 1895	407-426
Address, by Rev. Samuel C. Bartlett, D. D., "Dr. John Wheelock"	408
Memoir of Isaac K. Gage, with portrait	427
Memoir of Daniel F. Secomb	430
Memoir of Benjamin F. Prescott, with portrait	431
Officers of the Society from 1823 to 1895	433
Honorary Members from 1874 to 1895	440
Corresponding Members from 1874 to 1895	442
Resident Members who qualified from 1874 to 1895	445
Active Resident Members June 12, 1895	453
Acts and Resolves of the Legislature of N. H., in favor of the Society:	
Fifty copies of the State Papers	459
One copy of the Index to the laws of the state	459
One copy of the Index to the journals of the senate	460
Five copies of the history of each regiment published	460
Five copies of the history of the naval contingent, etc.	461
Five hundred dollars to keep the library open	462
One copy of the Public Statutes, 1891	462
One copy of the printed laws of each session	462
Two copies of each printed catalogue of every college, academy, seminary, or other institution of learning,	463
Two reports from each town in the state	462
Deed of Bradley Monument Lot,—Abner Colby to Richard Bradley	464
Deed of Bradley Monument Lot,—Richard Bradley to N. H. Historical Society	466
Deed—Merrimack County Bank to Nathaniel Bouton	468
" " Mrs. Emily Chadwick	471
" " Edward H. Rollins	473
Deed—Edward H. Rollins to N. H. Historical Society	476
Agreement with Edward H. Rollins to purchase the Merri- mack County Bank building for the N. H. Histori- cal Society	478

Subscriptions for the purchase of Bank building . . .	479
Letter of Hon. Charles H. Bell, commending Dr. Bouton .	481
Subscriptions for making the library building fire proof .	482
Expenses of Dr. Bouton in soliciting the same . . .	483
Subscriptions for purchasing the portrait of Dudley Leavitt .	483
Agreement of Lorenzo Sabine's heirs to carry into effect the codicil to his last will in favor of the N. H. His- torical Society	484
General Index	487
Index of Names	492

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

N. H. HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

CONCORD, Wednesday, June 13, 1888.

The sixty-sixth annual meeting of the N. H. Historical Society was held at the Society's rooms, this day at 11 o'clock A. M., the president in the chair.

Mr. Hammond, from the committee on new members, made a report nominating the following-named persons, who, upon ballot, were unanimously elected, by the constitutional majority, members of the Society.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Mrs. Annette M. Cressey, James W. Flavin, Concord; Ira Colby, Charles B. Spofford, Claremont; Walter M. Parker, Manchester.

The Society adjourned to meet at the Society's rooms, on Thursday, June 21, 1888, at 9 o'clock A. M.

CONCORD, Thursday, June 21, 1888.

The adjourned sixty-sixth annual meeting of the N. H. Historical Society was held at the Society's rooms, this day at 9.30 o'clock A. M., the president in the chair.

The reading of the records of adjourned sixty-fifth annual meetings, already printed in the Proceedings, was dispensed with; the record of the sixty-sixth annual meeting was read and approved.

The report of the recording secretary was read and accepted.

It stated that the following persons had accepted membership for the year ending June 12, 1888:

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Henry M. Baker, Bow ; Howard L. Porter, Mrs. Alice Rosalie Porter, Edson C. Eastman, Rev. Charles L. Tappan, Mrs. Almira Rice Tappan, Rev. Cephas B. Crane, D. D., John A. White, Mrs. Frances C. Stevens, Myron J. Pratt, Arthur W. Silsby, Henry W. Stevens, Mrs. Ellen Tuck Stevens, Mrs. Martha W. Hammond, Mrs. Louisa J. Sargent, Alonzo P. Carpenter, Mrs. Julia R. Carpenter, Mrs. Lydia F. Lund, Mrs. Pauline L. Bowen, John P. Nutter, A. J. Prescott, Edson J. Hill, Paul R. Holden, Mrs. Myra Tilton Kimball, Rev. Bradley Gilman, Frank W. Rollins, Francis L. Abbott, Rev. John E. Barry, v. G., Concord ; John C. Linehan, Charles H. Amsden, Penacook ; Warren F. Daniell, Franklin ; Isaac B. Dodge, Amherst ; Charles A. Farr, Littleton ; Mortier L. Morrison, Peterboro' ; Rev. James E. Odlin, Goffstown ; Francis C. Faulkner, Keene ; Ezra S. Stearns, Rindge ; Chester B. Jordan, Lancaster ; W. H. H. Allen, Claremont ; John B. Smith, Hillsboro' ; J. P. Kimball, M. D., Suncook ; John C. French, Manchester ; Rev. E. G. Parsons, Derry.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Gen. Harrison C. Hobart, Milwaukee, Wis. ; Major G. A. Raikes, London, England.

HONORARY MEMBER.

Mellen Chamberlain, Boston.

It was also reported that, since the sixty-sixth annual meeting, Ira Colby and C. B. Spofford, of Claremont, had accepted resident membership.

Messrs. Joseph B. Walker, Isaac K. Gage, and Howard L. Porter were appointed a committee to nominate officers.

Messrs. Isaac W. Hammond, Sylvester Dana, and J. E. Pecker were appointed a committee on new members.

Mr. S. C. Eastman made report from the committee on the Centennial Celebration of the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States by New Hampshire ; also from the committee on calendar of historical papers in London, accompanied by a communication from Mr. B. F. Stevens. The report was accepted, and the committee continued.

Mr. W. P. Fiske, treasurer, submitted his annual report, which was accepted and ordered on file.

To the New Hampshire Historical Society :

The treasurer respectfully submits the following report of receipts and expenditures from June 8, 1887, to June 20, 1888 :

RECEIPTS.

By balance June 8, 1887,	\$9,420.11
" cash received for Life memberships,	100.00
" " " from initiation fees,	220.00
" " " " assessments,	340.00
" " interest received,	546.44
" " books and pamphlets sold,	41.10
" " received from State to purchase copies of papers in London,	1,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$11,667.65

EXPENDITURES.

To paid for care of rooms,	\$ 24.45
" " " insurance,	66.50
" " S. C. Eastman, sundry expenses,	4.05
" " postage,	5.40
" " B. F. Stevens, London, for copies of papers,	500.00
" " W. M. Darrah, repairs,	6.84
" " I. W. Hammond, salary,	250.00
" " " " sundry expenses,	17.13
" " Andrew Bunker,	1.50
" " Crawford & Stockbridge,	15.00
" " for repairs,	8.15
" " " use of G. A. R. hall,	8.00
" " " advertising meetings,	11.25
" " J. E. Sargent,	4.00
" " Republican Press Association,	35.38
	<hr/>
	\$957.65
	<hr/>
	\$10,710.00
Permanant fund,	\$3,947.42
Publication fund,	600.00
Fund to procure calendar of papers in the Public Record office in London,	1,000.00
Current funds,	5,162.58
	<hr/>
	\$10,710.00
Increase the past year,	\$789.89

WM. P. FISKE, *Treasurer.*

This is to certify that I have examined the books and accounts of Mr. Wm. P. Fiske, treasurer of the New Hampshire Historical Society for the year ending June 20, 1888. I find the same correctly cast and well vouched. The balance on hand I find to be \$10,710.00, and all in good, reliable funds.

W. ODLIN, *Auditor*.

Concord, June 20, 1888.

Mr. Isaac W. Hammond, librarian, submitted his annual report, which was accepted and ordered on file.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the N. H. Historical Society :

As librarian of this Society, I have the honor to submit the following report :

During the past year the rooms of the Society have been open to the public as follows : Every secular day during the session of the legislature and on Tuesdays and Thursdays of each week during the remainder of the year. They have also been open the other four days in each week, with few exceptions, for the accommodation of the members and other historical students ; and, in fact, all who have called on any day of the week have been courteously received, and their wants attended to so far as the ability of your librarian would admit. Hundreds of our citizens, resident in various parts of the state, and many from out the state, have availed themselves of these privileges by visiting the rooms, consulting the volumes, examining the paintings and other collections, and expressed their satisfaction at finding the institution open and many their surprise at finding so large and valuable a collection of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts. The number of visitors has been as many as 25 on some of the open days, and hardly a day has passed without some. Your librarian has endeavored to interest all callers, with a view of promoting a favorable opinion in the minds of the people towards the institution, believing that it would result in an increase of donations of books, money, and other valuable materials, an increase in membership and in public sentiment favoring an appropriation from the state towards the purchase of historical works and the support of a permanent librarian.

The additions to the library during the past year have been 217 bound volumes, 1,243 pamphlets, 10 maps, 2 portraits, and 23 volumes of manuscript sermons of the late Rev. Timothy Upham. All of these were gifts to the Society, except three volumes which were received of a member of the Society in part payment for annual dues.

The portraits are : one of the late Frank W. Miller, presented by Mrs. Miller, and the other of Mrs. Chandler E. Potter, pre-

sented by herself. The maps were presented by Rev. N. L. Upham and Mrs. Joseph B. Walker. Some of them are valuable, one being a copy of Carrigain's map of New Hampshire, in excellent condition. Care has been taken to forward letters of acknowledgment in all cases, except when the same was waived.

The Society has also received from the publishers the following weekly newspapers: *Mirror and Farmer*, *People and Patriot*, *Veteran's Advocate*, *Great Falls Free Press*, *Exeter Gazette* and *Plymouth Record*; also the *Hamptonia* and *Shaker Manifesto*, and from Mr. Joseph B. Walker the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. They are all properly filed and reserved for future disposition.

During the past winter, with the advice of the standing committee, your librarian spent a portion of the time belonging to the library, which was available for such work after attending to visitors and entering and acknowledging the receipts of donations, in examining and arranging the manuscripts in the vault, it being impossible to work in the library room, as there is no way of warming it. A special appropriation of \$150 was voted for this work by the Society at its annual meeting in 1886. The result will be shown by the report of the committee.

By the advice of the same committee he has used a considerable portion of the time belonging to the library, and some of his own, in collecting and arranging the material, reading the proof, and superintending the publication of the fourth part of the first volume of the Society's proceedings and in compiling an exhaustive index to the volume. The result of this work will be shown by the report of the publishing committee. Very many letters, addressed to the librarian and requiring research among the archives of the Society, have been attended to by him.

A beginning has been made in the work of assorting and classifying the pamphlets, of which the Society has a large and valuable collection. A considerable portion of them are in a heterogeneous mass, and considerable time will be required to make them available for consultation and use. Your librarian deems it advisable and almost imperative that this work be done in the near future, and that the valuable historical, biographical, genealogical, and other rare pamphlets should be placed in some kind of paper boxes, made for that purpose, with a blank upon the back of each upon which to index its contents, and so constructed as to exclude the dust. I would recommend the purchase of a suitable number of such boxes for that purpose.

The Society has a valuable collection of the publications of other similar institutions, issued in parts, portions of which have been bound, and the remainder should be if the funds available for that purpose will admit of it. These have been acquired by ex-

change or gift, and some of them will require the purchase of a few numbers to complete volumes.

We have on hand a considerable number of volumes of this Society's, published collections, with the exception of volumes 4 and 6, and quite a large number of the several volumes of the Province and State papers. Very few calls for them are being received, doubtless, in part, for the reason that few persons are aware that we have them for sale.

I would suggest the propriety of instructing the library and standing committees to take the matter into consideration, with a view of disposing of a portion of the surplus, and using the proceeds for the purchase of historical works much needed by the Society; and that said committee be authorized to fix a special reduced price for the same to the members of the Society and to dealers in books, if they deem it for the best interest of the institution so to do. It will be seen that no books are being acquired, except such as can be obtained by gift or exchange. Some historical works are being published, which are unquestionably desirable, that can not be thus obtained, and it seems that some way should be devised, if practicable, to procure copies of works needed and which are likely to advance in price in the near future.

The state and general public have not given this Society in the past that support which it deserved and ought to have received. Very few of our citizens are acquainted with its history, or aware of the amount of time spent and labor performed by some of the older members of the institution to make it a success. Those men, many of whom are still earnest working members, not only gave generously of their time and talents, but to a large extent furnished from their own resources the means to carry on the good work; and knowing, as I have recently come to know, something of the time and money given by those gentlemen, I realize that those of us who have come into the Society later cannot accord them too much credit for their unselfish exertions, which have resulted in the accumulation of this large and valuable collection and the acquisition of this substantial old building for its home.

Respectfully submitted,

ISAAC W. HAMMOND,
Librarian.

Mr. Howard L. Porter, from the committee to nominate officers, reported as follows:

For President—J. Everett Sargent; *Vice-Presidents*—Samuel C. Eastman, George L. Balcom; *Corresponding Secretary*—Rev. C. L. Tappan; *Recording Secretary*—Amos Hadley; *Treasurer*—

William P. Fiske ; *Librarian*—Isaac W. Hammond ; *Necrologist*—Irving A. Watson ; *Auditor*—Isaac K. Gage ; *Standing Committee*—Joseph B. Walker, J. C. A. Hill, Howard L. Porter ; *Publishing Committee*—Charles H. Bell, Isaac W. Hammond, A. S. Batchellor ; *Library Committee*—J. E. Pecker, John C. Ordway, Edson C. Eastman.

The report was accepted and adopted, and the above-named gentlemen were elected officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

The report of the publishing committee, presented by Mr. Hammond, was accepted :

REPORT OF PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

The committee on publication respectfully present the following report :

Part 4 and last of volume 1, of the Proceedings of the Society, has been printed, and will be ready for distribution next week. Its contents are as follows :

1. List of officers elected in 1887.
2. List of resident members, 1888.
3. Proceedings of the Society from July 16, 1884, to the present time.
- 4-6. Addresses of Messrs. Charles W. Tuttle, Samuel T. Worcester and John Albee, delivered before the Society before July 16, 1884.
7. Papers read before the Society at the quarterly meeting held at Penacook, October 27, 1887.
8. Complete index to the five volumes of manuscript biographies compiled by the late Gov. Plumer.
9. Exhaustive index to the volume of Proceedings.

Two hundred copies of part 4 are to be bound in paper covers to supply members who have had the three preceding parts. One hundred copies of the entire volume of Proceedings are to be bound in paper covers, and one hundred copies in muslin, to supply members who have not received the preceding parts ; those bound in muslin costing fifty cents each.

By reason of the engagements of the other members of the committee, the principal part of the work of issuing this part has fallen upon Mr. Hammond, who, by the advice of the standing committee, has taken a part of the time for which he was employed as librarian for this purpose. He has also spent about six days of his own time in preparing the index.

The committee congratulate the Society upon the issue of this volume. Its contents are of much interest and value, and its

appearance is the best possible evidence of the vitality and efficiency of the Society.

CHARLES H. BELL,
For the Committee on Publication.

The report of Mr. Hammond, from committee on papers in the vault of the Society, was accepted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON WORK IN THE VAULT.

The four volumes of manuscripts called the Hibbard Collection have been indexed.

All of the loose manuscripts belonging to the Society have been examined, piece by piece, classified to some extent, and about 2,000 of the most ancient and valuable have been pasted by one margin into five large folio volumes purchased for that purpose at an expense of \$15. Another portion has been arranged in various packages, labelled and indexed.

The manuscripts in the drawers have been arranged in classes and catalogued. The vault also contains many valuable ancient record books, a large quantity of correspondence between Governor Belcher and Secretary Waldron, which has been chronologically arranged and ought to be printed. Sixteen large volumes and one draw full of the manuscript correspondence and other documents of the late Daniel Webster, several volumes and many loose papers of the late John Farmer in a drawer by themselves, and a variety of other interesting and valuable material, which will soon be accessible by use of the index.

Respectfully submitted,

ISAAC W. HAMMOND,
For the Committee.

Mr. John Kimball, from the committee appointed April 24, 1888, to consider the subject of warming the library room, made a report as on file, and the committee was continued.

Mr. Hammond, from the committee on new members, made a report, which was accepted, and the persons therein named were, on ballot, elected, by the constitutional majority, members of the Society :

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Hon. Frederick Smyth, Mrs. Marion Smyth, Manchester ; George E. Todd, Mrs. Caroline B. Bartlett, Mrs. Laura Garland Carr, Mrs. M. A. Pratt, Charles C. Danforth, Concord ; John J. Cilley, South Deerfield.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

John Edwin Mason, M. D., Washington, D. C.

The president presented a communication, from the Canadian French Institute, accompanied by a letter from Hon. C. H. Bell, both of which were read and referred to the standing committee.

A communication from Mrs. Maria E. Brown, concerning the discovery of America by the Northmen, was presented by the president, but no action thereon was taken by the Society.

The president presented a communication from the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, respecting Volapük, which was referred to a committee consisting of Rev. C. L. Tappan, Amos Hadley and Joseph B. Walker.

Messrs. Isaac W. Hammond, S. C. Eastman and J. E. Pecker were appointed a committee to select the orator for the next annual meeting.

On motion of Mr. Hammond,

Resolved, That a tax of three dollars be assessed upon each resident member, who has been such for one year or more.

On motion of the same gentleman,

Resolved, That when the Society shall finally adjourn this day, it do so to meet again on the first Wednesday of September next, at eleven o'clock A. M.

On motion of Mr. J. E. Pecker, the president was requested to appoint, at his convenience, a committee, of such number as he may see fit, to attend the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the settlement of Hampton, to occur on the 15th day of August, 1888.*

* On motion of Mr. D. F. Secomb, a sum not exceeding twenty dollars was appropriated for the purpose of procuring town reports.

The Society then voted to take a recess till 12 o'clock, noon, and at that time to meet at White's Opera House.

After recess, the Society met at the time and place aforesaid.

The commemorative exercises of the Centennial Anniversary of the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States by New Hampshire then took place, the details of which herewith follow.

* The following named members of the Society, designated by the president, attended the celebration: Rev. C. L. Tappan, Mr. Joseph B. Walker, Mr. Sylvester Dana, Mr. and Mrs. Isaac W. Hammond. They were assigned honorable positions in the procession and at the table. Rev. Mr. Tappan responded for the Society, and the occasion was one of much interest and enjoyment.—ED.

THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
BY NEW HAMPSHIRE.

It being deemed desirable that the New Hampshire Historical Society should celebrate, on the 21st of June, 1888, the centennial anniversary of the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States by New Hampshire, the matter of making preliminary arrangements therefor was, on the 24th of April, referred to the committee on orator and the standing committee, to act conjointly, and to report to the next adjourned annual meeting of the Society, to be held on the 9th of May. On that day, the aforesaid committees, by Mr. S. C. Eastman, made a report recommending the appointment of a committee to ascertain, by circular, the feasibility of providing a dinner, and defraying other necessary expenses for the occasion, and such feasibility being ascertained, to make the necessary arrangements for the proper observance of the day. Whereupon, a committee of three, with authority to add others, was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Samuel C. Eastman,* Amos Hadley, and Joseph C. A. Hill. This committee subsequently added Messrs. B. A. Kimball, Joseph B. Walker, Isaac W. Hammond, and Charles R. Corning.

Hon. James W. Patterson, of Hanover, had previously accepted an invitation to deliver the oration, and Mr. Allen Eastman Cross, Manchester, to read a poem.

It was ascertained, by circular issued to the resident members, that a sufficient number would attend the dinner, and a sufficient sum would be subscribed to meet the necessary expenses, and render the occasion a success. Invitations were sent to the governors of the thirteen original states, to the president of the United States and members of the cabinet, to many other persons

of distinction, and to historical societies. Other arrangements were made for the day's exercises, including an elaborate banquet, with Dooling, of Boston, as caterer, and for after-dinner speeches by men distinguished in public and private life, in politics and letters.

The regular sixty-sixth annual meeting of the Society occurring on the 13th of June was adjourned to the morning of Tuesday, the 21st. At that time the Society met, and, having transacted the usual business of an annual meeting, adjourned to meet again at noon, at White's Opera House, to listen to the oration and poem. President Sargent occupied the chair, and with him, upon the stage, were Gov. Sawyer, George L. Balcom, vice-president, and Amos Hadley, recording secretary of the Society, together with the orator and poet of the day. A fair-sized audience of strangers and citizens of Concord were in attendance.

Judge Sargent made a brief introductory address, and introduced as orator Hon. James W. Patterson, of Hanover, who spoke as follows :

MR. PATTERSON'S ADDRESS.

Article seven of the Constitution of the United States provided that the ratification of nine states "should be sufficient for the establishment of the Constitution, so ratifying the same." Providentially it happened that New Hampshire was the ninth state to record its vote in favor of that immortal instrument. In an essential act, therefore, it may be said that our state established the republic, and started a train of political events than which nothing recorded in history has been or will be more potential on human welfare. In that fact is the significance of this day.

To realize in any measure the intense interest that focalized in the transaction that occurred in the old North church in this town a hundred years ago to-day, and to catch any inspiration from the joy and the rejoicing that thrilled the whole country as the issue transpired and crept slowly from New Hampshire to Georgia, we must see the political importance of the event so far as we can trace it in the brief hour allotted us.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, for any of us to so divest our minds of the unconscious inheritance of ideas that constitute the

vested intellectual progress of a century, as to do full and exact justice to the men who laid the foundations of the republic.

The reflection and experience of more than three generations have made clear and certain to us principles that were then obscure and doubtful. We have tested and established what they embodied in law and government for the first time as contested theories. Political problems and expedients that had their birth in the necessities of the time, or in the fruitful genius of extraordinary statesmanship, have in the progress of knowledge become axiomatic truths in the science of government.

We may demand what, in their day and condition, was impossible. By the consensus of the wisest, the Constitution framed by the convention of 1787 stands as the supreme masterpiece of organic legislation, but it was an unavoidable compromise with ineradicable evils, the full potency of which only the sacrifices of blood and treasure by posterity could measure.

As the inspired law-givers of Israel were called to establish theocratic institutions for a chosen people whom the bitter experiences of centuries had not entirely purged of prejudice and folly, so the great architects of our institutions were required to frame a political system for the peoples of independent states jealous of their rights and dreading the limitations of state power by the surrender of any part of their accustomed local sovereignty, even to secure the general welfare. The Confederacy was crumbling beneath their feet, but the masses did not yet realize that the states must become component and subordinate parts of a supreme state, with power to conserve both national and local interests, if they would not drift into speedy and irretrievable ruin.

Religious bigotry and social castes had driven their fathers to a renunciation of birthrights and fatherland for a home upon a wild and desolate continent amid the savagery and cruelty of barbarism. Abandoned, without sympathy or support, to the rigors of nature and the cruelties of men, they grew strong in the conquest of fortune. Exiled from home by religious persecution and mercantile selfishness, they reached by original steps both the theory and the art of self-government, and when, by the exercise of unequalled energy and self-reliance, they had attained a period of profit, the

king and an oligarchy of nobles and gentry entered, by the help of a corrupted and subservient parliament, upon a system of legalized robbery of the colonies. They made it a crime for them to manufacture what could be made in England, or to sell their products and purchase their supplies in any but British markets.

"England has founded an empire on the other side of the Atlantic," said Adam Smith, "for the sole purpose of raising a people of customers for her shop-keepers." They even denied to the colonies the right of untaxed traffic among themselves. They had loaded themselves with debt and sacrificed thirty thousand of their sons in the prosecution of England's wars, and yet parliament attempted to fill her empty treasury by imposing taxes upon trans-Atlantic subjects whom her oppressions had banished, whose industries her selfish legislation had stifled, and whom she had deprived of a voice in her halls of legislation.

When the colonists pleaded their constitutional rights as Englishmen, protested against the imposition of illegal burdens, and resisted the execution of unjust enactments, their laws were annulled, their assemblies broken up, their charters revoked, their respectful petitions rejected as treasonable utterances, and military forces sent to reduce them to submission.

As a last resort in this extremity, delegates from twelve of the colonies, pursuant to votes passed by the Virginia and Massachusetts assemblies, and in accordance with a suggestion originally made by the eloquent Otis, met in Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774, and organized the first Continental Congress. The delegates, in a letter addressed to Gov. Gage, styled themselves "guardians of the rights and liberties of the colonies," but they were British subjects acting without precedent for an informal union of the colonies. They were not yet prepared to assume the functions of a revolutionary government, and so they limited themselves to making a Declaration of Rights based upon the laws of nature, the English constitution and royal charters and compacts which had been confirmed to them by their general codes of provincial laws. They asserted "that it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people and the undoubted rights of Englishmen, that no tax be imposed upon them without their own consent, given personally or by their representatives." They also addressed to

the king and people of Great Britain an able résumé of their bitter and protracted grievances, and asked for redress.

But this Congress did something more than remonstrate and petition. Its members showed that there was a manly temper and settled purpose in their supplications, for before separating they recommended commercial non-intercourse with England and her dependencies, and the assembling of another Congress on the 10th of the following May if their prayers should be disregarded. They then adjourned, and returned home.

They were spurned from the throne. The only response of the infatuated government, whose power in parliament was maintained by "rotten boroughs," to their appeals for justice was war—protracted, relentless war. At Lexington and Concord the ties of patriotism and loyalty which had bound our fathers with an affectionate allegiance to the jurisdiction of their kindred beyond the sea were ruthlessly sundered, and, despairing of the relief to which they were entitled as subjects of England, and for which the voices of Chatham and Burke had pleaded in vain, they turned as one people to the defence of their rights as men. American liberty was gendered and nursed into power by British oppression.

The second Continental Congress, the Revolutionary Congress, came together on the 10th of May as the representatives of a united people, and, though elected in the hope of reconciliation, assumed without hesitation the exercise of the rights of war essential to the defence of the nation not yet christened, but already born by the Cæsarion process of battle.

It is not our privilege to-day to follow the thrilling record of arms, but rather to trace the slow development of the principles of national government that culminated in the Constitution, whose adoption by our own state on the 21st of June, 1788, we have met this day to recall and commemorate.

Rightly to interpret the work of the national and state conventions, in which the Constitution had its birth, we must see it in its historic relations.

The delegates to the Revolutionary Congress were the recognized leaders of their respective colonies, and, for the most part, had been chosen or their election ratified by conventions of the people, and so had the prestige of the power behind the throne.

They were men of far vision and heroic mould, and did not shrink from the responsibilities which have given to them an immortality among the founders of states. They realized that they were the ministers of Providence called to secure the liberties of their country, the happiness of posterity, and the rights of men in two hemispheres.

In the Congress of 1774 Patrick Henry had suggested that as the members represented populations rather than states, the voting should be by polls; but as they had no census of the people in the respective colonies, or any way of ascertaining the relative wealth of each, they decided to give each colony one vote, but left the inference in their language that a change would be made in the future. The Revolutionary Congress for a similar reason and because immediate duties pressed this great issue aside, adopted the same rule, and established a precedent which came near strangling the Constitution in the hour of its birth.

Congress wrested from England the sovereignty of the Union for national purposes, and exercised it without a question of right till the great leaders had retired for the direction of more pressing duties at home, and weak men, who shrank from responsibility, had filled their places, and till the pusillanimous Confederacy had perverted the public mind. The city and county of New York, Massachusetts, and other provinces recognized the supreme authority of Congress by asking for military aid and direction, and by seeking advice and authority in the formation of state governments.

On the 15th of June, 1775, Congress elected one of their own number, Col. Geo. Washington, commander-in-chief of the forces of the United Colonies. They created a continental currency by issuing bills of credit, for the redemption of which the faith of the confederated colonies was pledged. They authorized reprisals to be made by public and private armed vessels in retaliation for the capture of American ships on the authority of parliament. They threw open American ports to all nations except Great Britain. They established departments of government, made treaties, effected domestic and foreign loans, authorized the establishment of state governments, severed the political connection of the united people of this country with the people of

England by a formal declaration, and assumed the title and designation of United States of America. They issued commissions and voted bounties; they recommended the arming of the militia and the enrolment of the people for military purposes; and in the darkest hour of the Revolution, when the hope of success flickered in the socket, conferred dictatorial powers upon the commander-in-chief.

These were all measures of a sovereign power never assumed or exercised by the local authorities, which were slowly leading up to a general government. War was the sad but essential precursor to the overthrow of a foreign, and the establishment of a domestic government.

The Revolutionary government was purely an offspring of necessity, the legitimacy of whose acts had been confirmed by the approval of thirteen distinct political organizations, whose only bond of union was a common danger and a common object. That object was the freedom and welfare of all, and their union in arms knit more firmly the fraternity of a common nationality and history. It habituated them to combined action, suggested the necessity of union for strength and security in peace, and kindled a patriotism which, leaping the narrow boundaries of the state, embraced the power and glory of a new nation. The war which forced together the disjected strength of the colonies educated the people to the idea of unity, and was a providential link in that marvellous chain of events which culminated in a national political system.

But having been forced into arms before the artificial machinery of an organized republic had been created, such as we could command in our later wars, Congress was obliged to act through the political organisms of the local governments, and to make requisitions upon the states, when their action would have been more efficient in the war and less demoralizing to future political interests if they could have laid their hands immediately upon the people. But they could not anticipate the development of events.

This enforced deference to the states at length affected the timid men who had worked their way into Congress, and they came to doubt their right or ability to enforce the war powers with which the Revolution had invested them. They be-

gan to hesitate and vacillate, and the states to claim powers which they had never exercised. Moved by a senseless jealousy of state rights, and affecting a dread of a standing army, the disaffected even denied to Washington, seemingly struggling against a relentless fate, the right to exact an oath of allegiance from Tories and traitors.

This growing discontent of the war power at length forced upon Congress the necessity of a government clothed with definite powers, and administered by a civil executive.

A plan of civil government had been prepared and sent out for the assent of the states early in 1777, but various causes had delayed its ratification. Some objected to its method of apportioning taxes and raising the quotas of public forces. New Jersey complained that it did not give to Congress exclusive control of foreign commerce. The smaller states demanded as a condition precedent to their assent, that the vacant lands claimed by some of the larger states should be given up as public domain.

The patriotic surrender of a large part of these vast claims, and the threatened collapse of the great cause for which all were wearily battling and suffering, at length overcame all obstacles, and secured the ratification of the "articles of confederation and perpetual union" in March, 1781.

The power which this instrument gave to Congress to negotiate loans and form alliances, enabled the government, in the failure of men and means at home, to carry the war to a successful issue; but with the return of peace, in 1783, it proved as fatal as the shirt of Nessus. If the genius of discord had marshalled all its faculties, it could not have invented a more baleful organ of political mischief than this. It is difficult to conceive that the men who gave to the world the Declaration of Independence, many of whom were master spirits in the convention which framed our venerated Constitution, were the fathers of this misshapen offspring of political folly. And yet it was the natural fruitage, perhaps, of the circumstances in which it had its birth.

Those "articles" were a faithful transcript—an embodiment in organic law—of the proceedings of the later Revolutionary regime, which well-nigh wrecked our fortunes and drove its immortal leader to the verge of despair. Nothing but the in-

spired wisdom and patience of Washington could have baffled the inaction and overcome the obstacles which an unappreciative Congress threw into the track of the Revolution.

However, we must not speak with unalleviated severity of the work of those days. Our early statesmen were familiar with colonial legislation and administration, and, in framing state governments, distributed political power, and set the appropriate guards of checks and balances with remarkable skill. Contemporary literature shows, too, that they had studied profoundly the nature and results of the civil leagues which had existed before their day, but there was nothing in their personal experience or researches to suggest a national system, in which a general and subordinate state governments, each sovereign within its range, should form one complex, but consistent whole. Hence, in erecting a government in the hurry and stress of war, they built as they knew.

As yet the people associated federal with royal authority, and the laws of Congress with the oppressive enactments of a hated parliament. They did not realize that the union was to be the guardian of state rights and their security against domestic and foreign aggressions. They did not realize that all their industries, enterprises, and interests must be national, and organized and controlled with reference to the general welfare, or be destroyed by sectional antagonisms, and defeated in the rivalries of production and trade. Their thoughts, aspirations, and loyalty, at present lingered in the narrow sphere of local legislation, and their patriotism was limited to its defence. Utopias and ideal republics may be born in philosophic seclusions; but broad, practical statecraft draws its plans of government from the school of experience. The founders of the republic were yet in the wilderness, and were being disciplined by suffering for the supreme work of their lives. The confederation supplied the providential preparation for a wiser, grander, and more enduring structure yet to come. A semi-decade of confederate weakness and failures was worth a lifetime of speculation to the statesmanship of the age, and the misfortunes which it brought upon the country prepared the people to adopt a better plan.

The miscalled articles of perpetual union created a league of sovereign states in which all the powers of government were con-

founded in a Congress of one house, which was forbidden to engage in war, grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, enter into treaties or alliances, coin money, or regulate its value, ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States or any of them, emit bills, borrow or appropriate money, agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, the number of land or sea forces to be raised, or appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, without the assent of nine states, each having one vote. This was an ingenious grant and veto of essential powers in the same instrument. All domestic legislation terminated with the states, and if not voluntarily complied with, was a dead letter, for it could be executed only by force, and that would rupture the compact. Provision was made for paying the government expenses from the public treasury, which could only be replenished at the option of thirteen impoverished states. Congress could incur debts and appoint ambassadors, but could not raise a dollar by imposts or taxation to pay either. Creditors at home and abroad clamored for the liquidation of liabilities incurred during the war; but the government could not defray its ordinary expenses, much less discharge its debts. England refused to remove her troops, and other governments to negotiate, because we could not execute treaties when made. Industries languished and profits ceased, for Congress could not regulate trade between the states or with foreign nations. Private debts were repudiated, or paid with worthless paper issued by the states. Combinations of armed demagogues, anarchists, debtors, and scoundrels besieged the courts of justice, and defied the public authorities, and the Confederacy, without an executive, without a judiciary, and without means, could render no help. The depreciation of property, the loss of credit, national disorder, poverty, insignificance and humiliation were but counts in this pitiful catalogue of public misfortunes.

A people that had defied the strength of England and in the face of admiring nations had asserted the rights of man, and with more than Roman fortitude and heroism had lifted a new republic into the constellation of free states, by refusing to commit their common interests to a government of adequate power, "had

shrunk to this little measure" and there were "none so poor to do them reverence." The very love of liberty which had cast off arbitrary power was reducing them to the slavery of anarchy.

Any language of condemnation of the system to-day would be but a feeble paraphrase of the bitter denunciations of Madison, Jay, Marshall, Story, and others of like authority.

But out of this extremity of misery rose, like a Phoenix from its ashes, a new and mightier form of civil polity. The misfortunes of the republic had been gradually dissipating prejudices, and drawing together a national party of the thoughtful and patriotic in all the states. Experience and reflection had been slowly revealing to the great leaders, in shadowy outline to most but clearly to a few, the plan of government which the divine purpose had reserved for this people. The financial paralysis and consequent political impotency of the government, the depression of business and social demoralization, the bitter sectional feeling relative to the negotiations with Spain, and the dread of popular rebellions, at last moved to action the best elements of the country.

Delegates from five states assembled at Annapolis in the fall of 1786 to confer relative to a uniform system of commercial regulations and duties. The representation of the states was too small for definite action, and the only result was an impressive report by Hamilton, expressing the unanimous conviction of the meeting that a general convention should be called to devise measures which should render "the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." This report was forwarded to Congress, and that body influenced by this and a resolution of the New York Assembly, on the 21st of February passed the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of Congress, it is expedient that, on the second Monday in May next, a convention of delegates, who shall have been appointed by the several states, be held at Philadelphia, for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the states, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union."

Eventually twelve states appointed delegates. A part were present at the time designated, but it was not till the 25th of May that a quorum arrived and organized by the unanimous election of George Washington as president. Probably no assembly convened to deliberate upon political affairs was ever called to act under more solemn responsibilities, or upon questions pregnant with greater issues. The life of the nation was in their hands, and they were building for posterity.

The people had learned to dread all power above the state, but were beginning to realize that their prosperity and freedom could not long survive the Union. The Confederacy was wrecked, and going to pieces beneath their feet. Hence the thirteen independent states, in a time of profound peace but of great national distress, deliberately determined to revolutionize their government by a voluntary surrender of a part of their sovereignty to the existing government or to a new national system, and these were their chosen agents for that stupendous work.

A dozen or more of the delegates were the great men of that generation, and would be controlling spirits in any age. Henry declined an election, and Jefferson and Adams were ministers abroad ; but Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, Wilson, Randolph, Mason, Ellsworth, Gerry, Rutledge, and Martin, whose names have become watchwords of liberty in two hemispheres, were all there. A part of the convention would abandon the sinking hulk that bore the imperilled destinies of the nation for a new craft of superior pattern ; others would repair and strengthen the old ship. They represented the two great parties of the country, and something of their spirit may be traced, I apprehend, under different names, through all its history. Those who favored a new Constitution were called Federalists, and they who would retain the old, anti-Federalists.

The anti-Federalists claimed that, as the convention had met in compliance with an act of Congress for the "sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation," and as their credentials expressed the same purpose on the part of the states, their authority was limited to such revision, and in the way provided by the organic law of the Confederacy. By a strict definition of their powers this contention seems unanswerable, but the great Federal-

ists affirmed that the disease of the "articles" was organic, and that they must die. Familiar with the history of civil governments in other times and countries, and with the hopeless condition of their own, and having reflected profoundly upon the effects of human interests and passions on the development of political institutions, they foresaw that in the future, near or remote, when the love of liberty should have grown dim by distance from the causes which enkindled it; when a dense population of other than patriotic extraction should throng the public domain in the rivalries of pelf and power; when the passions of party, breaking through the restraints of popular intelligence and virtue, should beat against the defences of law, something stronger than the flimsy patchwork of a confederation would be demanded as a structure of government. And they asserted that the safety of society was to them the supreme law, and should control the convention in that hour of political dissolution.

On the 29th of May two drafts of a federal government were presented to the convention. The first was the joint production of the Virginia delegation, and was submitted by Governor Edmund Randolph. The second was prepared and offered by General Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, a man of large abilities and great prominence in public affairs. It has been said that the draft of Gen. Pinckney, as published in Elliott's Debates, is a later modification of the original. But both plans, as then presented, contemplated the abrogation of the federal and the establishment of a national system resting directly upon the people, and, while they reserved to the states the control of strictly domestic concerns, gave to the general government exclusive power over interstate and foreign affairs, the right to regulate commerce between the states and with all nations, and to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises.

An inspection of these plans will show that they were specially strong where the Articles of Confederation were weak. Poverty was the essential weakness of the old government. To remedy this the revenue system of 1783, bearing the impress of the splendid powers and lofty aspirations of Madison and Hamilton, had been urged upon the states with every consideration of reason and patriotism that could appeal to men in political association

for the general welfare. Some rejected it absolutely and others acquiesced but with fatal conditions. The commercial states, and conspicuously New York and Rhode Island, clung to the advantages derived from their location upon the seaboard, which had been used to establish monopolies or to tax neighboring states for profit or retaliation. The government had pleaded for the right to regulate trade and collect revenue in the name of honor, interest, and national safety, but in vain, and when the question came up in the convention nothing but the ruin of trade, the hostility of states, the impotency of government, and the prostration of society, which the reservation of this power to the states had occasioned, carried the provision into the new Constitution.

The propositions laid before the convention by Gov. Randolph and Gen. Pinckney were "referred to the committee of the whole house appointed to consider the state of the American Union." The next day, Mr. Gorham having been made chairman of the committee, the members entered into a critical and exhaustive discussion of the Virginia plan, taking it up section by section.

In this arena of debate all the master spirits plunged into the great contention and fought with a vigor and sometimes with a bitterness that recall the sanguinary struggles upon the plains of Ilium, when Ajax and Achilles battled before the walls of lofty Troy.

That we may have a clear apprehension of the work of the convention, we must bear in mind that the plans of government proposed in the opening days of the session, and which, so to speak, constituted the raw material on which the house was to act, were referred to a committee of the whole, where this material was worked over till the 13th of June, when the committee reported to the house a series of eleven resolutions, embodying what they had decided should be the groundwork of the constitution.

At this point, Mr. Patterson of New Jersey introduced eleven new resolutions setting forth the amendments with which the anti-Federalists would attempt to rehabilitate the Articles of Confederation with the requisite vigor. On the motion of Madison,

seconded by Sherman, these resolutions were referred to a committee of the whole. It was then moved by Rutledge, and seconded by Hamilton, that the report of the 13th be taken from the table and recommitted. The Federalists were ready and anxious to enter the lists with both issues before the house. The struggle then opened anew in the committee of the whole. Mr. Patterson was a strong and skillful debater, and presented his views with great force. His first resolution was as follows :

Resolved, That the Articles of Confederation ought to be revised, corrected, and enlarged so as to render the federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the government and the preservation of the Union.

It will be observed that this was an adroit introduction of the language of Congress calling the convention.

But the times were too serious for men to stick in the bark, and Mr. Dickinson of Delaware moved to postpone this for a stronger resolution presented by himself. It was in this debate that Alexander Hamilton, the most intuitive and constructive mind of that age, who even in youth gave evidence of a prophetic genius that penetrated far beyond the vision of ordinary men, and whose grasp of speculative thought was only equalled by his practical skill, came forward, and in a speech of remarkable power presented a scheme of government which drew upon him the unjust accusation of being a monarchist. He desired a strong government, but that peerless statesman needs no defence at our hands, for as early as 1780 he drew a plan containing the essentials of our present Constitution, and before a second century shall have passed into our history, we shall realize how wisely he would have builded.

On the 19th of June, having rejected the proposition of Mr. Patterson, the committee reported back the resolutions of Mr. Randolph as altered, amended, and agreed to in their deliberations. This report was accepted by a vote of seven states to three, Maryland being divided. The report was then taken up for discussion and amendment in the house, and ran the gauntlet of debate from the 20th of June to the 23d of July. No political paper was ever submitted to a more thorough and searching scrutiny than this.

It was a battle of giants, in which quarter was neither asked nor given.

On the 30th of June it was moved, "That the president be requested to write to the supreme executive of the state of New Hampshire, and inform him that the business before the convention is of such a nature as to require the immediate attendance of the gentleman appointed by that state to this convention." The motion was lost, and was intended, doubtless, only as a *gentle hint*.

The legislature of New Hampshire did not meet till the 6th of June, and did not complete its organization and the election of state officers, including councillors and members of congress, till the 21st. On the 27th they elected as delegates to the constitutional convention, John Langdon, John Pickering, Nicholas Gilman and Benjamin West. Their credentials show that "they or *any two* of them were authorized and empowered" to attend the convention. It was arranged that John Langdon and Nicholas Gilman should go; but they did not take their seats till the 23d of July. John Langdon was president of the state, and the legislature being in session, he could not leave before the final adjournment. Nicholas Gilman was prominent in public affairs and may have been detained at home by important business. Why otherwise his attendance upon the convention was delayed, we can only conjecture at this distance of time, but as he and President Langdon had both been elected to congress, to which they might have to go immediately on the adjournment of the convention, it is possible it took them some days to arrange their private business for an indefinite absence from home.

I have drawn out these details because Madison wrote a letter to Jefferson, dated June 6th, which reads as follows: "New Hampshire has appointed deputies, but they are not expected, the state treasury being empty, it is said, and a substitution of private resources being inconvenient or impracticable."

Now if the date of this letter is properly printed in the Madison papers, it was written twenty days before our delegates were elected. The state treasury may have been empty, but it could hardly be said with truth that private funds could not be substituted for public in an emergency of that kind. Ten years before

this, when John Langdon was speaker of the house, the spring session of our legislature had just closed when it was heard that Burgoyne was on his way from Canada to New York through Vermont. At that time General Stark, like Achilles, was "sulking in his tent" because he had been superseded. It was reported, however, that he would take command of New Hampshire volunteers, and push out to arrest the English army. The legislature was hastily called together, and Speaker Langdon made this speech to its members: "I have £3,000 in money and fifty hogsheads of rum; and I will pawn my house and plate for all they are worth, if General Stark will take command of the New Hampshire troops to cut off Burgoyne; if we regain our independence, I shall be repaid; if not, it matters not what becomes of my property." Is it probable that such a man would cling to his money bags when the welfare of his country was at stake? And yet McMaster, I find, has copied this imprudent gossip into his first volume as authentic history.*

But returning to the convention, we find that the resolutions, as they had been amended and enlarged on their passage through the convention, were referred to a committee of detail to digest and report in a final draft of a constitution. On motion of Mr. Pinckney the New Jersey resolutions were also referred to the same committee. Mr. Rutledge, the chairman of this committee, made his report on the 6th of August, when it was referred to a committee of the whole. At this stage in the proceedings, this scheme was subjected to the closest analysis, sentence by sentence, and word by word, and the best minds of the age studied it as a whole and in its related parts, to anticipate, as far as possible, its working power as a fundamental law. When difficult questions arose, and new matter came

* Since delivering my address Hon. J. D. Stone, of Philadelphia, has kindly sent me the following communication, from Portsmouth, N. H., published in the *Independent Gazetteer*, of Philadelphia, July 23d, 1787:

"We hear that His Excellency the late President Langdon will leave this town on Monday, to join the Federal Convention. The prayers of the good will follow this disinterested patriot, who, when the public treasury was incapable of furnishing supplies, generously offered to bear the expense of himself and colleague on this important mission."

This is a gratifying confirmation of what we had inferred, from the well-known patriotism and generosity of President Langdon, must have been his conduct in that great crisis of our history.

in, such as the assumption of state debts and the return of fugitive slaves, they were referred to sub-committees for study and adjustment.

At length, after nearly four months of difficult evolution through these consecutive stages of development, the constitution was committed for final revision and arrangement to five of the ablest men in the convention: Dr. William Samuel Johnson, Alexander Hamilton Gouverneur Morris, James Madison and Rufus King, constituted this committee of revision. Mr. Johnson, of Connecticut, though less famous than his associates, was probably the most scholarly and cultivated man in the assembly; but, with characteristic modesty, he committed to Gouverneur Morris the priceless privilege of making the final draft of the constitution.

The result was a document at once terse, perspicuous and felicitous, without a parallel in political history. One can readily believe, in the light of subsequent events, that He who holds the destinies of nations breathed a divine wisdom into the thought that framed that immortal instrument. It was the birth of the ages and was to introduce a new dispensation into the government of nations, and the fame of its authors will be as supreme and enduring as their work.

The committee having reported the final draft, after a few amendments, it was enrolled and submitted to the convention, and received an affirmative vote from all the states represented. After receiving the signatures of thirty-nine of the fifty-five members in attendance, the instrument was transmitted to Congress, and from thence to the legislatures of the several states, "in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state, by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention made and provided in that case."

In this necessarily brief record of the growth of the Constitution, I have not presumed to traverse the ground covered by the *Federalist* and the imperishable commentaries of Kent, Story, and Marshall. Only the genius of a Hamilton or Madison would be equal to such a task. I have simply attempted to show how, out of the confused and multitudinous mass of views presented and advocated with great force and passion through four weary months, it took on by slow gradations, as by a natural selection, the supreme wisdom of all.

There were numerous questions of detail on which the members might well differ without touching the underlying sentiment that controlled the convention and colored all its acts. Whether the functions of government should be separated into three departments, or all confounded in one; whether the legislature should consist of one or two houses; whether the executive should be one or several; how the courts should be organized, and the extent of their jurisdiction; how the duties of the different departments should be distributed so that each might have a salutary check upon the others,—these, and many other questions not touching party prejudices, would naturally develop a great variety of opinions, and we are often surprised to see how the greatest minds groped and stumbled in the dark in adjusting them into their proper relations. But whenever any question involving the characteristic differences between the Virginia and the New Jersey plans came upon the floor; whenever the smaller states were called to protect their prospective interests and safety against the anticipated power and selfishness of the larger; whenever the question was, Shall the people, as such, or the states, be represented in the executive or Congress, the convention marshalled itself resolutely upon a party line, from which there was no retreat but in dissolution or mutual concession.

The Constitution, therefore, when it came to the state conventions for ratification, was a compromise of the views entertained by the antagonistic parties, and yet it was so framed as to become, when ratified by the people, the organic law of a national government, supreme within the realm of its jurisdiction. The general depression of business and the lawless attitude of large numbers of people in several of the states, together with the mystery that hung about the protracted term of the convention which sat in secret session, had produced an intense popular interest in the result. As a rule, the officers of the army, the men of wealth who had interests to be protected, the intelligent professional men, and the lovers of good order welcomed the Constitution, while the local demagogues whose importance would decline with a strong government, the ruined debtors who would discharge their liabilities like Micawber with irredeemable paper, the silent tories who hoped a reunion with England through anarchy, and the dissolute who

would arrest the execution of law, lifted up their voices against it at the outset. Between these there was a large class of honest people, willing to be informed, who had no decided opinions for or against it. There were also in all the states patriotic men who had laid the country under lasting gratitude for their services, who opposed the Constitution on principle.

This was the attitude of the public mind when the plan was presented to the states for action.

Delaware, New Jersey, and Georgia gave a unanimous vote for the Constitution, gratified with the concessions which had been made in respect to representation and suffrage in the senate and the control of the slave trade.

In Pennsylvania and Connecticut, the only remaining states that adopted the system without proposing amendments, the contest was short but spirited. James Wilson and Oliver Ellsworth were the Federalist champions in their respective states, and bore down all opposition by the clearness and force of their expositions of the new scheme of government.

The next in order was the old Bay State, her convention opening on the 9th of January, the day on which that of Connecticut closed. Great public interest and not a little apprehension centered in the action of this commonwealth, in view of the glorious part she had played in the early history of the country, and her questionable record under the confederation. An adverse vote in Massachusetts might have proved fatal, for its influence on New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, and other states yet to act, would have been controlling. With the exception of Samuel Adams, who acted with great caution, all the experienced and able debaters were with the Federalists; but the majority of the assembly was made up of elements not to be reached by argument, and hence the convention had to be won over by skill rather than eloquence. Theophilus Parsons drew up a series of amendments, which were handed to the president, John Hancock. Parsons then moved that the instrument be assented to and ratified. Immediately Hancock left the chair, and with a brief and conciliatory speech laid before the house his proposed amendments. Samuel Adams, assuming that the amendments were a condition precedent,

advocated the measure, and the ratification was carried by a majority of nineteen.

The convention of New Hampshire met immediately after the adjournment in Massachusetts. In a letter which Madison addressed to Washington the 15th of February, 1788, he says,—"The convention in New Hampshire is now sitting. There seems to be no question that the issue there will add a seventh pillar, as the phrase now is, to the Federal temple." In a letter addressed to Jefferson, on the 19th of February, he says,—“New Hampshire is now deliberating on the Constitution. It is generally understood that an adoption is a matter of certainty.” Such seems to have been the general impression entertained in the country.

About fifty delegates met at Exeter on the 13th of February, and organized by electing Hon. Josiah Bartlett, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, temporary chairman. Hon. Samuel Livermore, Hon. John Taylor Gilman, and Benjamin West were selected to receive the returns of members and prepare rules for the convention. On the second day a permanent organization was effected by the selection of General John Sullivan, president, and John Calfe, Esq., secretary. Thus, at the outset, the convention called to its service the men who had won distinction in the field and in the councils of the nation. We learn from the Journal, which gives us only a meagre skeleton of the proceedings, that the Constitution was taken up and discussed from day to day till the 22d of February, when the convention was adjourned to meet in Concord on the 3d of June.

This adjournment was a source of great regret to the friends of the cause in other states. Madison, who was then a member of Congress in New York, in a letter to Washington on the 3d of March, writes as follows :

“*Dear Sir* : The convention of New Hampshire has afforded a very disagreeable subject of communication. It has not rejected the constitution, but it has failed to adopt it. Contrary to all calculations that had been made, it appeared, on meeting, that a majority of three or four was adverse to the object before them, and that on a final question on the merits, the decision would be in the negative. In this critical state of things, the Federalists thought it best to attempt an adjournment ; and having proselyted

some of the members who were positively instructed against the Constitution, the attempt succeeded by a majority of 57 against 47, if my information as to the numbers be correct. It seems to be fully expected that some of the instructed will prevail on their towns to unfetter them, and that, in the event, New Hampshire will be among the adopting states. The mischief elsewhere will, in the meantime, be of a serious nature. The second meeting is to be in June. This circumstance will be construed in Virginia as making contemporary arrangements with her. It is explained to me, however, as having reference merely to the convenience of the members, whose attendance at their annual elections and courts would not consist with an earlier period. The opposition, I understand, is composed precisely of the same description of characters with that of Massachusetts, and stands contrasted to all the wealth, abilities, and respectability of the state."

The convention reassembled, according to adjournment, at Concord, June 18th, and after some preliminary business appointed a committee of fifteen on amendments to the Constitution. Gov. Langdon, afterwards the first president of the Senate of the United States under the new Constitution, was chairman of this committee. The same form of ratification, and the same amendments as had been adopted in Massachusetts, with some additions were reported and accepted in New Hampshire. Cushing, in his "History of the Constitution," suggests that they were sent to General Sullivan, the president of the convention, by his brother, Governor Sullivan, of Massachusetts. The leader of the Constitutional party upon the floor of the convention was Hon. Samuel Livermore, of Holderness. He was a profound lawyer, a skilful parliamentarian, and possessed of great quickness of apprehension. His influence at home, or the virtue and intelligence of the people, led all but one in a delegation of eleven in Grafton county to vote for the Constitution. The leader of the opposition was Hon. Joshua Atherton, a man of distinction and large personal influence. The only record of the New Hampshire convention in Elliott's Debates is a reputed speech by Mr. Atherton, the authenticity of which has no official foundation but rests purely upon tradition.

Curtis in his life of Webster says that the great expounder of the Constitution once repeated to him, with great pride, a little speech made by his father before giving his vote for the Constitution, and requested him, if he ever had an opportunity, to do some-

thing to perpetuate it. Whether Capt. Webster ever made the speech or not, I can not say. It certainly has the Websterian ring, and is entirely worthy of the heart and intellect of the old hero, but the official record does not record his vote.

An attempt was made by Mr. Atherton to ratify the Constitution, with the proviso that it should not operate in the state without the amendments, but the manœuvre was defeated by the vigilance of Mr. Livermore, and the Constitution was adopted by a vote of fifty-seven to forty-seven.

In the interval of the recess of the convention in this state that of Maryland met, and in a brief session of seven days ratified the Constitution. Washington had effectively exerted his influence to prevent any postponement, lest such a course following the adjournment in New Hampshire, might defeat ratification in South Carolina, where the convention was to meet on the 12th of May. A profound interest, and not a little anxiety, pervaded the country as to the effect upon this state of the compromises which General Pinckney had been specially influential in effecting. He had conceded to Congress an absolute power to regulate commerce, the right to levy and collect direct and indirect taxes, except on exports, and to terminate the slave trade at the end of twenty years, but as an offset he had secured the admission of the blacks to the basis of representation, the right to recover fugitive slaves, to continue the slave trade twenty years, and a renunciation of the right to emancipate slaves in the states. Would these be accepted as equivalents? The debate was able and earnest on both sides, and the youthful student of American history can do no better than to study the remarkable speeches of Gen. Pinckney on this occasion, both in the assembly and in the convention of his state. On the 23d of May the state wheeled into line by a vote of 149 to 73.

New Hampshire, standing guard on the northern frontier, was permitted by a supreme felicity of fortune to complete the constitutional majority, and give to the country assurance of escape from anarchy, and the establishment of a strong and stable government. Immediately on the ratification post-riders were despatched in all haste to announce the result in Boston, New York and Richmond, and so relieve the intense anxiety of the public, and give to the

event its legitimate weight upon the convention then in session in Virginia. The news spread like an electric force, and thrilled the country with unlimited enthusiasm. Bells rang, cannon boomed, bonfires were kindled, and processions of all the guilds and professions, with banners, transparencies, and martial music, conducted the mimic ship of state through the streets of cities and larger towns.

The requisite number of states having ratified the Constitution, the establishment of a national government upon this basis was assured, but the end was not yet. If the four remaining states, including Virginia and New York, were to reject the new system, the political situation would be perilous and possibly fatal in the not distant future. Hence all eyes turned upon Richmond, and all hearts throbbed with hope and fear in anticipation of the result.

Washington was resting anxiously at Mount Vernon, and Jefferson was in France ; but nearly all the other eminent men of the state were embraced in the membership of the convention. The fiery and eloquent Henry, who had risen like a splendid exhalation out of the turmoil of the Revolution, aided by the powerful intellect of Mason, marshalled and led with chivalrous courage the forces of the opposition. They inveighed against the Constitution as an instrument that would establish a consolidated despotism, that would close the navigation of the Mississippi in the interest of the East, would impoverish the states by the power of taxation, and at last overwhelm the liberties of the people. But Madison, calm and intelligent on every point, demonstrated that the government would be complex in its nature, partly federal and partly consolidated, dividing sovereignty with the states ; and Marshall, the great chief justice of the future, entering the field with his iron logic, crushed out the plausible sophistries of the opposition, and carried the Constitution by a majority of ten on the 26th of June.

One can but feel a throb of admiration as he recalls the patriotic and pathetic words of Henry, facing defeat at the close of this protracted struggle : " If I shall be in the minority," he said, " I shall have those painful sensations which arise from a conviction of being overpowered in a good cause. Yet I will be a peaceable citizen. My head, my hand, and my heart shall be free to retrieve the loss of liberty, and remove the defects of this system in a con-

stitutional way. I wish not to go to violence, but will wait with hopes that the spirit which predominated in the Revolution is not yet gone, nor the cause of those who are attached to the Revolution lost. I shall, therefore, patiently wait in expectation of seeing this government so changed as to be compatible with the safety, liberty and happiness of the people."

We can imagine how, as the knowledge of the action in Virginia was borne to New York by swift-footed steeds, the shadows lifted from the heart of Hamilton, struggling like a Titan to save his state from dishonor against the arts of her astute and powerful Governor. We cannot linger upon the prolonged and bitter struggle waged at Poughkeepsie by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, Chancellor Livingstone, and James Duane against the leagued malcontents of the Empire state, but the names of that splendid quarternian of statesmen will brighten from age to age on the roll-call of the nation's saviours.

North Carolina and Rhode Island crept, at last, into the Union like belated school-boys, and their record must stand as it was made.

This is the simple story of our early history, and it is a record of which we may well be proud in all our generations. It may be a humiliating illustration of the instability of human sentiments, that the states which originally formulated our system of national government should have been the first to expound the organic law as a league of states and to deny its power. It is a more instructive lesson still that the revered statesmen who founded a "more perfect union" should have unconsciously planted in its foundations the seeds of future discord and dissolution.

The phrensied prophecies of ruin and despotism predicted by patriots who would have died for their country, seem to-day, after a century of the glorious experiences of a free people, like the pompous utterances and mock passions of a mimic tragedy, but they were legitimate in the order of time and events. There is a sequence in the march of nations which we must recognize if we would be just to the past or wise for the future. Unconsciously we gather up in the great crisis of national life which we experience the fruitage of centuries of progress, and embody them in laws and institutions as an inheritance to our children, and as steps in an advancing civilization.

Preoccupied and absorbed in the events and transactions of our local and immediate status, we are as unconscious of our historic as of our planetary movements, and limit our judgments, as our lives, to the present and perishable. So our fathers "built better than they knew," but the patriotism that with them was feeble and local has become strong and national in their children. The blood shed to subdue foreign aggression and domestic treason has cemented the foundations of the republic, and the ensign of the Union that was unfurled with trembling hands a century ago from the old North church, has unrolled its ample folds to the western winds, till to-day a continent of happy, prosperous states sits secure beneath its protecting power.

At the close of the oration, Mr. Allen Eastman Cross, of Manchester, was introduced as the poet of the day, and read the following poem :

THE NINTH STAR.

"Congress had provided that when conventions in nine of the thirteen states should ratify the Constitution it should become the fundamental law of the republic. To New Hampshire, therefore, rightly belongs the honor of securing the adoption of the Constitution, with all its attendant blessings."—*Benson J. Lossing.*

"The courier, announcing the news of the ratification by New Hampshire, passed through New York on the 25th and reached Philadelphia on the 26th. The newspapers of the latter city immediately cried out, 'The reign of Anarchy is over,' and the popular enthusiasm rose to the highest point."—*Curtis's History of the Constitution.*

"God bless New Hampshire ! from her granite peaks
Once more the voice of Stark and Langdon speaks ; "
So cried our martial bard in days of old,
When, from the accursed chains of slavish gold,
The spirit of our hills sprang proudly uncontrolled.

God bless New Hampshire ! 'Tis the common prayer
That heavenward floats upon the loyal air
Whenever courage crowns the Granite State,
Or she for freedom holds the torch of fate,
Or free New Hampshire hearts her valor celebrate.

Such was the torch, brave state, that beacons forth,
 When, from the crystal summits of the North,
 New Hampshire signaled back the fateful sign
 That made the stars upon thy banner nine,
 True Magna Charta of man's liberties divine !

True Magna Charta of the brave and free !
Our Magna Charta it must ever be,
 Since from New Hampshire's sky the light was hurled
 That saved this Constitution to the world,
 And by *her* federal star the starry flag unfurled.

Thence rose our free Republic, the ninth star
 Filling its perfect lustre, while afar
 From Maine to Carolina rang the cry—
 "God bless this brave New Hampshire," till God's sky
 Seemed prouder on her ancient hills to lie.

Hills of the North-land, be ye ever proud !
 Crowning memorial peak with whitest cloud ;
 New Hampshire's star hath flashed above your heights,
 Blent with its sister stars' embattled lights,
 And fought each Sisera for God and human rights.

Lakes of New Hampshire, be ye calm and clear !
 Ye've mirrored many a storm, but ne'er a fear ;
 Fold in your fair embrace our Northern star ;
 Let no foul hand its fair reflection mar,
 Down dropt in your clear depths from Freedom's heaven afar.

Sons of New Hampshire, hold ye, also, fast
 The light that blessed Constitution cast !
 Let no disloyal son its power deny,
 From where the ocean meets the sands of Rye
 To where your crystal hills uplift the crystal sky.

Remember those who left this light to you ;
 Remember its "Defender," grand and true ;
 Clasp in your own great Langdon's generous hand,
 Feel Stark's strong pulse, and with McClary stand,
 Letting each loyal life your loyalty command.

And now, true hearts, who love God's greater sky
 Of human rights and human liberty,
 Look upward to that heaven, then be true
 To the brave star upon your banner blue,
 And pray with me the grand old prayer so dear to you :

Our Father, bless New Hampshire! keep her light
 In its fair sky of freedom clear and bright,
 Pure as a star should be, devoid of shame,
 True to her ancient heritage of fame,
 With grateful, loving hearts to guard her holy name.

The members of the Society, with invited guests, then repaired to Chase's Hall, where the elegant banquet of 200 plates was spread. The table of honor was placed across the south side of the hall, and, at right angles to it, extended four other tables. At these the guests sat down, and, after blessing asked by Rev. Dr. F. D. Ayer, partook of the dinner, served in courses, in a most satisfactory manner, from the following *menu* :

Soup—Mock Turtle.
 Fish—Boiled Salmon. Cucumbers. Potato Croquettes. Green Peas.
 Roast—Spring Chicken, Currant Jelly. Sirloin of Beef, Dish Gravy.
 Mashed Potatoes. Baked Tomatoes. Asparagus.
 Entrees—Potted Pigeon. Lobster Salad.
 Dessert—Cake. Neapolitan Ice Cream. Orange and Raspberry Sherbet.
 Roman Punch. Frozen Pudding.
 Fruit—Strawberries and Cream. English Walnuts. Raisins.
 Crackers. Cheese.
 French Coffee.

At President Sargent's right sat Hon. James W. Patterson, His Excellency Governor Sawyer, Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, of Boston, Amos Hadley, Recording Secretary of the Society, Hon. George B. Loring, of Salem, Mass., Capt. Woolmer Williams, of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of London, Hon. Robert S. Rantoul, of Boston. On his left were Allen Eastman Cross, President S. C. Bartlett, of Dartmouth College, Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale, of Boston, Hon. Samuel C. Eastman, chairman of committee of arrangements, Hampton L. Carson, of Philadelphia, Hon. Frank B. Sanborn, of Concord, Mass., Rev. Dr. F. D. Ayer, of Concord, N. H.

Among the other distinguished guests from abroad were Hon. Charles Levi Woodbury, of Boston, F. A. Stone, of Philadelphia, Capt. A. A. Folsom, Charles Carleton Coffin, Col. Albert H. Hoyt, William B. Trask, and Hon. Nathaniel F. Safford, all of Boston; Hon. E. H. Elwell, of Portland, Me., Rev. Henry A. Hazen, of Billerica, Mass. The resident members of the Society and other citizens from Concord, Manchester, and other places

were present in goodly numbers, and numerous ladies graced the banquet with their presence.

At a little past four o'clock P. M., President Sargent called the guests about the banquet tables to order, and introduced Hon. Samuel C. Eastman, of Concord, as toast-master. In accepting the position, Mr. Eastman said :

"It seems unusually fitting that on an occasion of this kind the New Hampshire Historical Society should call together its members, and after listening to the stately periods of the oration and the musical numbers of the poet, should invite its friends together around the social board. And while customs of the day forbid our greeting you with the loving cup, which would have graced the tables on a like occasion in old Hampshire, we, of the New Hampshire Historical Society, bid you, our honored guests, a no less hearty welcome. We appreciate the honor you have done us in leaving the "busy hum of men," and coming for a day to kindle anew your patriotism by reviving your recollections of what our fathers have done for us, and pledging renewed devotion to our common country. We celebrate to-day the act of New Hampshire which not only gave that common country an existence and a place among the nations of the earth, but which, at the same time, sacrificed a portion of its own individuality for the common good. We are justly proud of that act, and rejoice that it was reserved for our native state to supply that which was wanting to complete the arch. We believe that it will endure for all time ; and why should it not, when that keystone was of granite and therefore as enduring as the everlasting hills of the Granite State? As loyal citizens of that state, as well as faithful members of the Historical Society, and as friends of both and interested in the continued prosperity of both, I am sure you would all be disappointed did I not give you as the first toast : 'The State of New Hampshire—Her sons and daughters in every part of our land never forget their love for her rugged hills and pleasant valleys.' His Excellency, Hon. Charles H. Sawyer, the governor."

The governor responded as follows :

"In the absence of any special provision for the celebration under the auspices of the state of the centennial anniversary of

its ratification of the Constitution, the Historical Society deserves much credit for assuming the duty, and for arranging for this commemoration of an event of such historical interest and probably the most important event in the history of the state.

The Declaration of Independence cut off the colonies from any reconciliation with the mother country, short of their recognition as independent states. In the struggle which ensued they were bound together by the necessity of making a united defence against the common enemy.

As in all civil disturbances which bring about great changes in the condition of the people, the Revolution brought forward a large number of remarkably able men, who became eminent as soldiers and as statesmen. They were men who were competent to cope with the difficult problems which presented themselves for solution during the progress of the war, and afterwards in the framing of a plan of government which, commending itself to the people of the thirteen states, was to unite and bring into being a new nationality. The results of the work of those able and far-sighted men are embodied in the national constitution, which has stood the test of time and the great and varied strains to which it has been subjected. In the hundred years of its life the country has grown from a population of less than four millions to nearly sixty millions. Poor and heavily burdened with debt at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, it has developed its resources so that in wealth and influence it now stands in the front rank of the nations. Great as has been its progress in the past, it is safe to predict a far greater future, and that the beneficent influences of its government and institutions will be felt throughout the human world.

New Hampshire has an honorable record in the country's history. Although she moved somewhat slowly in giving her assent to the plan submitted for a permanent union of the states, and only after a prolonged and careful consideration of the subject, it can be truly said that never for a moment since the government was organized has she faltered in her loyalty and devotion to the Union and its Constitution. She has always responded with alacrity to the calls made upon her to assist in the national defence. Although New Hampshire cannot show the great increase

in wealth and population of some of the more favored states, yet she takes pride in the fact that she has largely contributed to the progress of the republic through the large number of eminent men who were born and reared on New Hampshire soil, whose influence and talents have been potent in shaping its destinies. This government of and by the people can no longer be considered as an experiment, but an assured and enduring success. Under the rapidly changing social and industrial conditions, new and perplexing questions in government will continue to present themselves for settlement, but which, under the rule and guidance of the well tried constitution, one may have faith to believe, will be successfully met and treated by the people in the future, as in the past one hundred years of our national life.

It may not be out of place here and at this time to refer to the coming celebration of the anniversary of the National Independence in the town of Amesbury in Massachusetts, an interesting feature of which will be the unveiling of a statue of Josiah Bartlett—the gift of a public spirited citizen of that town. Dr. Bartlett was born in Massachusetts, but his life's work was in New Hampshire. A signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a member of the convention which framed the Constitution, he was also the first governor of New Hampshire. It has been arranged for the states of Massachusetts and New Hampshire to be officially represented on the occasion by their chief executive officers."

In offering the next sentiment, "The highest type of education in New Hampshire," Mr. Eastman said :

"Our ancestors early declared as one of the cardinal principles of their civil creed that 'the general diffusion of knowledge and learning through the community is essential to the preservation of a free government.' From the little red school houses dotted over the length and breadth of our state to the more stately and costly high schools of our cities, the evidences that the people of the state have always been faithful to this high ideal are everywhere to be found. And if the state has not been so liberal to the chief representative of that ideal as those upon whose shoulders has fallen the burden of maintaining the noble standard of excellence it has always set up could have wished, the people of the state

have never ceased to honor Dartmouth College. There some of the greatest men our nation has yet produced have received their early training and manly development, and there in the future let me prophecy will New Hampshire's sons continue to turn for inspiration and counsel. As Athens was the eye of Greece and shed her light upon the world, so Dartmouth College is the eye of New Hampshire and sheds its light wherever her sons are found."

This was responded to by President Bartlett, who said that "Mr. Eastman had spoken of Dartmouth College as 'the highest type of education in New Hampshire;' he was prepared to go farther and say it stands for the highest type of college education in the United States. While it does not offer the professional training of a university, in its strong and rounded curriculum, thorough and able instruction, and diligent and successful application of its students, it stands to-day unsurpassed in the United States. It antedates this Society, the signing of the national and state constitutions, and the framing of the national and state governments. It has had a romantic history, and has passed successfully through great crises. It has been closely identified with the government, furnishing a chief justice, a member of the cabinet, representatives to foreign courts, and more than eighty members of the National Congress. Indirectly it has exerted an influence throughout the country, through the agency of its sons who have become teachers and preachers. Bright as has been the war and civic record of New Hampshire, Dartmouth College has for more than a century been its brightest light and its greatest ornament. It has drawn young men from all parts of the state, and started them on the way to success and eminence."

Mr. Eastman then said :

"A century ago there was no class of our citizens who exerted a wider influence than the clergy. Men of education, in a community where all were educated enough to know and appreciate the value of that higher education which was not within the reach of all, with their wits quickened by their logical studies of a system of theology which called into play all the reasoning powers which man possesses, the friends and advisers of their flocks, it was inevitable that they should wield a great power in moulding our civil institutions. We are fortunate in having with us to-day from our

sister state, Massachusetts, one of the lineal descendants of this very class. Always busy, he never fails to find time to do his whole duty, and to keep abreast with the progress of the day; as one to whom *nihil humani alienum*, who is in sympathy with everything that effects mankind, I know of no one who could better respond to the next toast or whom you would wish to listen to in his place: 'The influence of the clergy of New England on our form of government'—Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale."

Dr. Hale, in his response, referred to the prayer of Rev. Dr. Langdon before the battle of Bunker Hill, and assigned to him the credit of being a controlling and organizing spirit in the Revolution and subsequent events. Great stress was laid upon the fact that the Constitution of America owed much to the Christian ministers and the Christian church. Its ground-work cannot be found in any of the political writings of those days. To Manassah Cutler, a minister from Ipswich, Mass., Dr. Hale showed that the Ordinance of 1787 was owed, and narrated the incidents of Rev. Mr. Cutler's journey from Ohio to the Continental Congress, and his success in securing the passage of the Ordinance. He closed with the presentation of the truth that the clergy's weapons are ideas.

To the sentiment, "Philadelphia, the birthplace of the Republic," Hampton L. Carson, of that city, responded. He spoke of Philadelphia's interest in the history of the Revolutionary period and in the men who made that history, and referred to the celebration in that city of the supposed ratification of the Constitution on the day New Hampshire ratified, an erroneous report having been received that Virginia had ratified. This action was prophetic of the course New Hampshire was taking on the very same day. The fact that Pennsylvania was the first large state to ratify and adopt the Constitution was recalled, and tributes were paid to some of the men who had a prominent part in the proceedings. Philadelphia's historic buildings were mentioned, with an earnest assurance that the city would always cherish them as sacred monuments to the memory of the nation.

Hon. Mellen Chamberlain responded to the the sentiment, "The training of the people of New Hampshire for Constitutional government," saying that for more than 150 years New Hampshire stood

on the skirmish line of civilization, and withstood and forcibly resisted the acts of barbarians and their French allies. This fact gradually prepared the state to take an important part in Revolutionary history, and trained that admirable corps of officers to which Stark, Reed, Sullivan, and others belonged. New Hampshire stood also on the skirmish line of Constitutional government. Massachusetts and the other New England colonies were favored with charters from the crown, which became the bulwarks of their liberty. As in the days of the Indian wars, New Hampshire had no garrisons to protect her, so she had no protection by charter; she lived under the commission of a royal governor. New Hampshire was not entirely Puritan, but took the best qualities of Puritanism and left behind the worst. She remained clear of everything that was vicious. Under such circumstances men were differentiated somewhat from the Constitutionalists of Massachusetts. This can be traced clearly to the circumstances which surrounded the people from the earliest time.

Joseph B. Walker, Esq., of Concord, moved a vote of thanks to the orator, Hon. James W. Patterson, and the poet, Allen Eastman Cross, which was passed unanimously. They were called up in turn, and Mr. Patterson's response was to read an extract from a sketch of Judge Timothy Farrar, of New Ipswich, who had an important part in shaping public opinion in the matter of adopting the Constitution. Mr. Cross responded by repeating a stanza of his poem, and concluded with an earnest plea for the erection of monuments to Stark and John Langdon, to the former in Manchester, and to the latter in Portsmouth.

Hon. Frank B. Sanborn, of Concord, Mass., spoke to the sentiment, "The Statesmen of Hampton Falls, Meshech Weare and Samuel Langdon." He gave interesting facts about Meshech Weare, the first president of New Hampshire. The infant state of New Hampshire owed more to him for the successful issue of the Revolution than to any of its soldiers, statesmen or divines. In 1776 we find him both chief executive and chief justice of the new state, and he continued in that dual capacity until the close of the war. He carried the state through its difficulties, financial and personal, and managed, with especial skill, the controversy with Vermont.

Hon. George B. Loring was given the sentiment, "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war. The Revolution of 1788." He addressed himself to the "patient and patriotic few who remain," for it was nearly 6 o'clock, and many had left the hall to take trains for home. He spoke both facetiously and eloquently of affairs in his own state of Massachusetts and in New Hampshire. It was doubtless true that Massachusetts was not quite civil to the witches and Quakers. We are told that this was not true of New Hampshire, but it was because there were no witches and Quakers there. They preferred to live where civilization was rank and powerful, and had rather be lashed to the tail of every cart in Essex county than to risk the rigors of the New Hampshire climate. A surprising characteristic of the people of early New Hampshire was their ability to recognize the value and power of government and their loyalty to sustain it. New Hampshire's political history is as interesting as that of any state. John Langdon, the framer, and Daniel Webster, the expounder of the Constitution, place her at the front, and will never be forgotten by New Hampshire or by her sister states.

The exercises closed with "America," sung under the leadership of Mr. B. B. Davis, of Concord.

It is worthy of mention that the U. S. Senate, on motion of Mr. Blair, of New Hampshire, a member of the Historical Society, adjourned in honor of the event celebrated; and a telegram from the New Hampshire Senator, announcing the fact, was received in course of the banquet.

The following was presented by Rev. Henry A. Hazen, as representative of the New England Historic Genealogical Society:

LETTER OF GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON TO GEN. HENRY KNOX, JUNE 17, 1788. Written while the ratification of the Constitution of the United States of America by the states of New Hampshire and Virginia was pending. Printed for the New England Historic Genealogical Society for the Centenary Commemoration by the New Hampshire Historical Society of the Ratification of the Constitution by New Hampshire, June 21, 1888.

The following letter is copied from the original—a three-page letter all in the autograph of Washington—in the Manuscripts of Gen. Henry Knox presented May 26, 1873, to the Historic Gen-

ealological Society, by his grandson, Rear Admiral Henry Knox Thatcher, U. S. N. These manuscripts make fifty-five folio volumes :

MOUNT VERNON, June 17, 1788.

My Dear Sir :

I received your letter of the 25th of May, just when I was on the eve of departure for Fredericksburgh to pay a visit to my mother, from whence I returned only last evening.

The information of the accession of South Carolina to the new government since your letter, gives us a new subject for mutual felicitations. It was to be hoped this auspicious event would have had considerable influence upon the proceedings of the convention in Virginia, but I do not find that to have been the case. Affairs in the convention, for some time past, have not worn so good an aspect as we could have wished ; and, indeed, the acceptance of the Constitution has become more doubtful than it was thought to be at their first meeting.

The purport of the intelligence I received from my private letters by the last night's mail, is, that every species of address & artifice has been put in practice by the antifederalists to create jealousies & excite alarms. Much appears to depend upon the final part which the Kentucke members will take ; into many of whose minds apprehensions of unreal danger, respecting the navigation of the Mississippi and their organization into a separate State has been industriously infused. Each side seems to think, at present, that it has a small majority, from whence it may be augured that the majority, however it shall turn, will be very inconsiderable—Though, for my own part I cannot but imagine, if any decision is had, it will be in favor of the adoption.—My apprehension is rather that a strenuous—possibly—successful effort may be made for an adjournment ; under an idea of opening a correspondence with those who are opposed to the Constitution in other States.—Col^o Oswald has been at Richmond, it is said, with letters from antifederalists, and in New York & Pennsylvania to their Co-adjutors in this State.

The Resolution, which came from the antifederalists (much to the astonishment of the other party) that no question should be taken until the whole Plan should have been discussed paragraph by para-

graph, and the remarkable tardiness in their proceedings (for the Convention have been able as yet only to get through the 2^d or 3^d Section) are thought by some to have been designed to protract the business until the time when the Assembly is to convene, that is the 23rd instant, in order to have a mere colorable pretext for an adjournment.—But notwithstanding the resolution, there has been much desultory debating, & the opposers of the Constitution are reported to have gone generally into the merits of the question.—I know not how the matter may be, but a few days will now determine.

I am sorry to find not only from your intimations, but also from many of the returns in the late Papers, that there should be so great a majority against the Constitution in the Convention of New York.—And yet I can hardly conceive, from motives of policy & prudence, they will reject it absolutely, if either this state or New Hampshire should make the 9th in adopting it—as that measure which gives efficacy to the system, must place any State that shall actually have refused to assent to the New-Union in a very awkward & disagreeable predicament.

By a letter which I have just rec^d from a young Gentleman who lives with me, but who is now at home in New Hampshire, I am advised that there is every prospect that the Convention of that state will adopt the Constitution almost immediately upon the meeting of it.—I cannot but hope then that the States which may be disposed to make a secession will think often and seriously on the consequence.

Col^o. Humphreys who is still here, occupied with literary pursuits, desires to be remembered in terms of the sincerest friendship to you & yours. M^{rs}. Washington & the family offer, with me, their best Compliments to M^{rs}. Knox and the little ones—You will ever believe me to be, with great esteem & regard,

My dear Sir

Y^r affect^s and Obed^t Serv^t

G^o. WASHINGTON.

General Knox.

Owing to the late hour to which the exercises were protracted, the reading of the following letters was necessarily omitted :

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C., June 19, 1888.

My Dear Sir :

I am very much gratified that the Historical Society is to hold a meeting for the commemoration of the ratification of the national Constitution by the state of New Hampshire—the decisive act by which the United States became a nation.

If possible to be absent from the discharge of public duties here, I should be present to participate in these proceedings in memory of an august event to the glory of whose consummation our beloved and noble state is specially entitled, and for which her sons will proudly congratulate themselves forever. I predict that when the next centennial of our Constitutional epoch shall approach for due celebration by the three hundred millions who then shall constitute the American people, the 21st day of June, 1988—the termination of the second century from the day when New Hampshire, in the crowning exercise of her then unlimited sovereignty, closed the illustrious debate by the act of supreme popular legislation which merged that sovereignty in a grander nationality of invincible power and world-wide beneficence, and made America what she now is and is yet to be—will be selected by a universal sense of justice as the appropriate season of continental thanksgiving and joy.

Thankful that the honor of the state, and the dignity and proprieties of the occasion are in the hands of your venerable Society, which from its eminent and continual labors may well be termed the guardian of New Hampshire's history, but for whose watchfulness much would be lost which concerns her honor, I am,

My Dear Sir,

Very Respectfully,

Your Obt. Sert.,

HENRY W. BLAIR.

HON. AMOS HADLEY,

Secretary N. H. Historical Society.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

UTICA, N. Y., June 7, 1888.

*Messrs. Samuel C. Eastman, Amos Hadley, and J. C. A. Hill,
Committee.*

Gentlemen :

I regret that I cannot accept your kind invitation to be present at the celebration in commemoration of the Centennial anniversary of the ratification of the Constitution of the United States by the state of New Hampshire.

The action by New Hampshire, which made the Constitution the organic law of the nation, was not the only one which placed New Hampshire among the prominent states of the Union. When hostilities between Great Britain and this country were suspended, a number of the states commenced to emit bills of credit as a substitute for specie to supply the deficiency of a medium, notwithstanding the fact that the Continental bills afforded a recent example of the ill effects of such an expedient. Pennsylvania first adopted this system, and the faith of that state was pledged for the redemption of the whole issue at its nominal value, yet the advantages of specie as a medium of commerce soon made a difference of ten per cent. between the bills of credit and specie. North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia had recourse to the same expedient to supply themselves with money, but the bills they emitted expelled almost all the circulating cash from those states, impoverished the merchants and embarrassed the planters. The state of Virginia tolerated a base practice of cutting the coin to prevent it from leaving the state, and a silver dollar was usually cut in five pieces, each piece passing for a quarter, so that the person who cut it gained one-fifth. Maryland escaped the calamity of a paper currency. New Jersey, being situated between two of the largest commercial cities in America, was completely drained of specie, and this state also issued a large sum in bills of credit, which served to pay the interest of the public debt, but the currency depreciated as in other states. Rhode Island exhibited a melancholy proof of that anarchy and licentiousness which follow a relaxation of moral principle. In a rage for supplying the state with money the legislature passed an act for making £100,000 in bills, a supply much more than sufficient for a medium of trade in

that state, even without any specie. A legal tender of a most extraordinary nature was created, and an act passed ordaining that if any creditor should refuse to take their bills for any debt whatsoever, the debtor might lodge the sum due with a justice of the peace, and if the creditor did not appear to receive the money within six months from the date of the first notice, his debt should be forfeited. The inevitable consequence was that their money rapidly depreciated, business almost totally ceased, confidence was lost, while the state was thrown into confusion at home, and execrated abroad. Massachusetts had the wisdom, even in the midst of her great political calamities, to prevent an emission of bills of credit. *New Hampshire made no paper, and rather than fail to fulfill her contracts she made her articles of produce, her lumber, and even her horses, a legal tender, in the fulfillment of contracts.* A similar law prevailed in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and it was optional with the creditors either to imprison the debtor or take land on execution at a price to be fixed by three disinterested freeholders, provided no other means of payment appeared to satisfy the demand.

The fact, however, must not be overlooked that while the most flourishing commercial states introduced a paper medium to the great injury of honest men, a bill for the emission of paper in Connecticut, where there was very little specie, could never command more than one-eighth of the votes of the legislature. New York issued a large sum in bills of credit which supported their value better than the currency of any other state. Still the paper raised the value of specie.

Such is the brief history of the part which New Hampshire and other states took in the history of paper money in the olden time, a miserable substitute for real coin, in a country where the reins of government are too weak to compel the fulfillment of public engagements.

Truly yours,

C. W. DARLING,

Cor. Sec.

WASHINGTON, June 13, 1888.

Messrs. Eastman, Hadley and Hill, Committee of the N. H. Historical Society, Concord.

Gentlemen :

I am honored by your invitation to be a guest of your Society at the coming Centennial anniversary of the adoption by New Hampshire of the National Constitution. It is with very great regret that I decline it, owing to imperative engagements in the West at the same date.

Few of the descendants of the men of that time are now aware of the tenacity and sharpness of the struggle which ended in the ratification of the National Constitution by the first nine states, or of the joy with which patriotic hearts in New York and Virginia were filled when a courier brought news of the great completing act of New Hampshire. The minority resisted the ratification everywhere, because it was a NATIONAL Constitution, operating directly upon the people, and not a *Confederate* or *Federal* Constitution, operating only through sovereign states. It is an everlasting honor to New Hampshire that her *fiat* first gave active life to a vigorous Constitutional republic of THE PEOPLE of the states, in the place of a dissentient and powerful federation of separate and quarrelsome state governments.

May your Society be the instrument of perpetuating this historic distinction as it was well understood by the great men who framed the Constitution and made the union of the people, as well of the states, perpetual. I am, gentlemen,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN A. KASSON,

of Iowa.

ENGLEWOOD, NEW JERSEY, June 11, 1888.

Messrs. Samuel C. Eastman, Amos Hadley, and J. C. A. Hill, Committee.

Gentlemen :

I have the honor to acknowledge the invitation of the New Hampshire Historical Society to the celebration in commemora-

tion of the Centennial anniversary of the ratification of the Constitution of the United States, by the state of New Hampshire, on the 21st of June, instant. It would afford me the keenest pleasure to accept this invitation and unite in the exercises of that occasion. An important engagement at that time in the state of Missouri, however, compels me to forego this pleasure, very much to my regret.

In looking back to the critical moment in the history of the Constitution, it does not surprise me that the clear heads and sound judgments of New Hampshire's Revolutionary fathers discovered the defects of "Confederacy of Sovereign States," nor that after due deliberation they ratified the Constitution, thus rounding up the "Revolution of Independence," and making an organic law for the nation.

As a native of the state of New Hampshire, among whose royal hills reposes the dust of my ancestors, I take great pride in her history and institutions, and am ever ready to rejoice in the achievements of her grand men.

I am, gentlemen,

Very respectfully and truly yours,

J. WYMAN JONES.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA.

OFFICE OF CURATORS,

June 14, 1888.

*Samuel C. Eastman, Amos Hadley, and J. C. A. Hill, Committee.
Gentlemen :*

The State Historical Society of Iowa acknowledges, with gratitude, the invitation of the New Hampshire Historical Society to a participation in the celebration in commemoration of the Centennial anniversary of the ratification of the Constitution of the United States by the state of New Hampshire.

By vote of Curators it is my pleasant duty to represent the State Historical Society of Iowa upon that occasion.

Personal presence is denied me by press of other duties.

The insertion in the record of the *hour* as well as the day of ratification by New Hampshire, gives to your state precedence of Virginia in the claim of giving life to the organic law of this nation.

Bancroft's History of the Constitution accords New Hampshire this honor, and adds, "As the glad tidings flew through the land, the heart of its people thrilled with joy that at last the tree of union was firmly planted." And I would repeat his sentiment: "Never may its trunk be riven by the lightning; nor its branches crash each other in the maddening storm; nor its beauty wither; nor its root decay."

I regret, much, my inability to be present upon so joyful an occasion; for my heart turns with love to the old Granite State, for within her borders rest the earthly forms of my grandparents, who were active participants in public affairs, in a humble way, at the time of New Hampshire's ratification of the Constitution. Though not myself a native of your state, I attained my majority while a resident of North Conway, 1844-5, and entered upon full citizenship there.

In behalf of and representing the State Historical Society of Iowa, I have the honor to be

Your grateful and obedient servant,

JOSIAH L. PICKARD,
Pres't S. H. S. of Iowa.

PHILADELPHIA, June 13, 1888.

Messrs. Samuel C. Eastman, Amos Hadley, J. C. A. Hill, Committee, Concord, N. H.

Dear Sirs:

I have the honor to acknowledge your kind invitation to attend the celebration of the New Hampshire Historical Society on the 21st inst., in commemoration of the Centennial anniversary of the ratification of the Constitution of the United States by the state of New Hampshire.

I have an appointment in Washington for that day, which will prevent me from attending; but I cannot refrain from expressing the gratification which your invitation has given me, not only because it recalls the occasion when I had the pleasure of meeting so many of your citizens in our own Historical Society's rooms upon a similar occasion, but because it impresses me, as it will do our whole country, that from one end of it to the other, all

regard the adoption of that Constitution as the birth of a great nation. What we see every day of our lives necessarily comes to be regarded as in the ordinary course of nature: the blessings that our Constitution confers upon us are continual and for the same reason are unnoticed; but we should be in earnest that those who are to succeed us shall with us recognize the consummate wisdom that guided our ancestors when they framed this remarkable document; that it was then a new departure in the science of government, and not a copy of some previously existing form, for although other governments called republican had previously existed, they had little to distinguish them as such to those educated under this wonderful instrument of ours, which becomes greater and greater the more it is studied and compared with other systems then known or now existing. That it exerted an immediate and powerful influence for good, at the time of its adoption, is apparent now that the period has become so remote that its effect can be clearly traced, and that it may continue to exert an ever widening and beneficial influence is not only the hope but the belief of all of us.

Yours truly,

WM. SELLERS.

PLYMOUTH, IND., June 14, 1888.

*Messrs. Samuel C. Eastman, Amos Hadley, and J. C. A. Hill,
Committee, Concord, N. H.*

Gentlemen:

I thank you for the honor of an invitation by the New Hampshire Historical Society to attend its celebration on the 21st inst., in commemoration of the Centennial of the ratification of the Constitution of the United States. It would give me great pleasure to be present on so important an occasion, and I should avail myself of the opportunity your courtesy has presented, were it not that prior engagements for that date render it impossible to do so. I feel an absorbing interest in everything that tends to draw the attention of the existing generation to that great charter, the Federal Constitution, from an intimate knowledge of which I fear the American people are drifting. Your celebration and the publication of its proceedings will directly bring it to the study of many,

under favorable conditions to make a lasting impression. By the administration of government strictly in accordance with its provisions, the tendency of power to centralize itself in the General Government on the one hand, and to regard liberty as license by the people on the other, will be equally prevented ; and with a judicious distribution and an honest use of the elective franchise in electing administrators of government, there is no good reason why the nation shall not have perpetual liberty as broad as it has enjoyed during the first century of its existence.

With thanks for the invitation, and wishes that you may realize your most sanguine hopes for the grand occasion, I remain

Yours with sincere respect,

C. H. REEVE.

HARTFORD, VT., June 15, 1888.

Samuel C. Eastman, and others, Committee N. H. Historical Society.

Gentlemen :

Your kind invitation to me to attend your meeting at the celebration of the anniversary (Centennial) of the creation of the United States of America by the ratification of its Constitution by my native state is received. I regret exceedingly that I am obliged by professional duties to be in Michigan through next week, but for which appointment I should surely accept of your invitation with the utmost pleasure ; and it is only on account of a business obligation to others that I am constrained to forego being present on an occasion of such great historical interest as your celebration forecasts.

The momentous duties of that convention whose members were such men as Langdon and Sullivan, Bartlett and Atherton, and Gilman and Pickering and Livermore, in their labors at Exeter, to crown the monument of our nationality by the ninth stone of the Constitutional column, the apex, which would give the government strength, and a "local habitation and a name ;" its care, while the question hung so evenly balanced, to adjourn for a time, to feel the public pulse and know what the wishes of the plain people were ; its reassembly at Concord, and triumphant establishment of the

great Constitutional government which has so wonderfully blessed mankind for a hundred years next Friday,—all form one of the gravest and most critical turning-points in the history of states.

Our New Hampshire fathers of that day took up a position in which they were sustained, and it has been a habit with their successors for a century. *Esto perpetua.*

With thanks for your polite invitation, and sincere regrets that I cannot avail myself of the privilege it confers, I remain

Very truly yours,

SAM'L E. PINGREE.

BOSTON, June 14, 1888.

My Dear Sir :

I thank you for the invitation to be present at the Centennial anniversary of the ratification of the Constitution of the United States by the state of New Hampshire, and I regret that my engagements prevent me from accepting it. There could be no more interesting an occasion, and I am glad that your Historical Society has decided to celebrate it. The contributions of New Hampshire to the cause of good government deserve all the praise which the orator and the poet can express.

Yours sincerely,

WALBRIDGE A. FIELD.

Samuel C. Eastman,

Chairman of Committee, Concord, N. H.

NEW IPSWICH, N. H., June 16, 1888.

Messrs. S. C. Eastman, Amos Hadley, J. C. A. Hill.

Gentlemen :

Yours of the 15th is at hand, and I am greatly obliged for your kind invitation to be present on the 21st, and I wish it were in my power to accept, but I fear it will be impossible for me to come.

I am glad that attention is to be called to the important action taken by New Hampshire at a time when so many were wavering,

and I am also glad that the celebration of this Centennial anniversary is to be in charge of those who have long been honored in their native state ; and I feel sure that the occasion cannot fail to be one of the most interesting in the long line of historic festivals which our people have witnessed.

Again thanking you for your courtesy, I am,

Very truly,

WILL. A. PRESTON.

N. E. HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

SOCIETY'S HOUSE, 18 SOMERSET ST.

BOSTON, MASS., Monday, June 18, 1888.

To Samuel C. Eastman, Amos Hadley, and J. C. A. Hill, Esquires, Committee of the New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, N. H.

Gentlemen :

The invitation with which the New Hampshire Historical Society has, through you, honored this Society, requesting their attendance at Concord on the 21st instant, to assist in celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the ratification, on the part of the state of New Hampshire, of the Constitution of the United States of America, was duly received.

The Board of Directors of the New England Historic, Genealogical Society have ordered me to return to you the thanks of the Society for being permitted to join in the celebration of so important an event : one that, in your own words, "made the Constitution the organic law of the nation." They have voted to accept your invitation, and have appointed as delegates to represent the society, Abner C. Goodell, Jr., Esq., President of the Society, Rev. Henry A. Hazen, Col. Albert H. Hoyt, William B. Trask, Esq., Hon. Nathaniel F. Safford, Charles Carleton Coffin, Esq., Rev. Luther Farnham.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN WARD DEAN,

Secretary of the Board of Directors.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, June 16, 1888.

Messrs. Samuel C. Eastman, Amos Hadley, J. C. A. Hill, Committee.

Gentlemen :

I beg to acknowledge the invitation by the New Hampshire Historical Society to the New York Historical Society to be present at the celebration of the Society in Concord, on the 21st day of June, 1888, in commemoration of the Centennial anniversary of the ratification of the Constitution of the United States by the state of New Hampshire. In response thereto, as President of the New York Historical Society, which is now in its summer recess, I have the honor to appoint as its representatives at your most notable and august celebration, The Honorable John Jay, William H. Morse, LL. D., and Robert Ray Hamilton, Esquire. I trust that they may be able to be with you, and to express the full sympathy of our Society in this most fitting remembrance of the great work done by the convention of New Hampshire in 1788. By that ratification the Constitution was made a certainty, and the Granite Hills afforded a solid foundation for the new government.

I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

JOHN A. KING,

Pres't of N. Y. Historical Society.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA, 18th June. 1888.

To Messrs. Samuel C. Eastman, Amos Hadley, and J. C. A. Hill, Committee of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

Gentlemen :

On behalf of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, I thank you very much for your invitation to our members to attend your Centennial celebration of the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States by the State of New Hampshire. Two of our most valued members will represent our Society: Mr. Frederick D. Stone and Mr. Hampton L. Carson. I am greatly disappointed that I can not accompany them and be with you next Thursday.

From a legal point of view, the ratification by New Hampshire was an event of the first magnitude. By that act, the Constitution of the United States, under the seventh article thereof, was first established between the necessary nine States, and became the great law of the Union. By that act, the Constitution of the United States not only became the law of the land of New Hampshire, but also the law of the land of Pennsylvania. Such was the operation in nine States, respectively, of the ratification of New Hampshire. Last year, in Pennsylvania, we celebrated the framing and writing of the Constitution. Next year the inauguration of the Constitutional government of the United States will be celebrated in New York. On the 21st of June, of the present year, in New Hampshire, you will celebrate the establishment of the Constitution. Each year is memorable, indeed, and it would seem that each in its turn, as it is celebrated, has its peculiar impressiveness.

The prince of poets in his time has selected 1888 as that year of the three which most impresses him in the contemplation of the subject. His view necessarily implies that the Ratification Day of New Hampshire is a date of supreme importance. It was legally the exact date, when, as his winged words suggest, this growing world of ours assumed new "harmonies of law." Lord Tennyson, in his letter to Mr. Walt Whitman, dated November 15, 1887, holds the year 1888 to be that of the Centennial anniversary of the Constitution. He has acted upon that view by first publishing in the present year his noble Ode upon the Separation of England and America, which he had long reserved in manuscript. The poem and the letter of Lord Tennyson, taken together, enable us to understand how he appreciates what we Americans celebrate in our Constitutional anniversaries. He would be the last of his countrymen to forget, that, while Magna Charta was written in Latin, our great Charter was written in English. He does not, however, speak of the language of the Constitution. He dwells upon something beyond. The soul which inspired the founders of our Constitution seems to him so great, that to breathe a breath of it should give new life to every patriotic American. Such were the men whose work you now celebrate. They were men who cherished the inheritance of rights they had defended in the

past, and who composed long-enduring harmonies of law for the future.

Faithfully yours,

BRINTON COXE,

President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

CONCORD, Wednesday, Sept. 5, 1888.

The adjourned sixty-sixth annual meeting of the Society was held at the Society's rooms, this day at eleven o'clock A. M., the President in the chair.

An Indian relic, presented by Stephen D. Messer, Esq., of New London, was accepted, with thanks to the donor.

A communication from W. G. Hamilton, chairman, and James Montgomery, secretary of the Committee on States, respecting the celebration in New York, April 30, 1889, of the Centennial of Washington's inauguration was presented, and, on motion of Mr. J. B. Walker, the President was requested to confer with the Governor as to the appointment of a commission, so that New Hampshire may be properly represented at said celebration.

Rev. C. L. Tappan presented the following resolution, which was adopted :

WHEREAS, The manuscript volume entitled "Belknap Papers," belonging to this Society, has been printed, in part, in the New Hampshire Province and State papers ; therefore—

Resolved, That permission is hereby granted to the editor of said work to publish the remaining portion of said manuscript volume in said state publications.

Mr. J. B. Walker offered the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That the treasurer be requested to carry to, and hereafter treat as a part of the *Permanent Fund*, the sum of *four thousand fifty-two dollars and fifty-eight cents*, now on hand in the treasury ; said fund to be increased from time to time to *ten thousand dollars*.

Mr. Hammond, from the committee on new members, nominated the following-named persons, who were elected, by ballot and the requisite constitutional majority, members of the Society :

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Hon. James W. Patterson, Hanover ; Henry O. Kent, Lancaster ; George Peabody Little, Pembroke ; Hon. Martin A. Haynes, Gilford.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

Hon. Edward H. Elwell, Portland, Me.

HONORARY MEMBER.

Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, New York City.

Rev. C. L. Tappan, from the special committee on *Volapük*, reported that it was inexpedient to comply with the request of the American Philosophical Society concerning the same. The report was accepted, and the committee was discharged from further consideration of the subject.

Mr. J. C. A. Hill, from the Centennial committee, submitted a financial statement.

On motion of Mr. E. C. Eastman :

Resolved, That the financial statement of the Centennial committee be referred to the standing committee for examination, and if found correct, that the treasurer be authorized to pay out of the treasury the balance of deficiency.

Mr. J. B. Walker offered the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That this Society cordially approves the proposition now pending in the Congress of the United States to include in the next census the names of all veterans of the war of the Rebellion, with the state for which, and the organization in which each served ; also, if practicable, such data as will indicate the place and date of death of such as have deceased since the close of the war.

On motion of the same gentleman, the attention of the publication committee was called to the desirableness of an early publication of a part of the next volume of proceedings of the Society.

Messrs. Walker, Tappan, and others, of the delegation appointed to attend the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the settlement of Hampton, made verbal reports.

Adjourned to meet again on Thursday, Nov. 15, 1888, at such place as the president may designate.

CONCORD, Thursday, Nov. 15, 1888.

The adjourned sixty-sixth annual meeting was held at the Society's rooms, this day at 11 o'clock A. M., the president in the chair.

The president read a communication from Henry M. Baker, of Bow, presenting to the Society a print of an etched portrait of George Washington, by M. Lefort, which gift was accepted with thanks, and ordered to be suspended in the rooms of the Society.

A communication from Hon. C. H. Bell, containing a proposition respecting certain exchanges, and the withdrawal of certain reprints from the Bell alcove, was read, and Mr. Bell's proposition accepted.

Mr. Hammond, from the committee on new members, nominated the following persons, who were elected, by ballot and the requisite constitutional majority, members of the Society :

RESIDENT MEMBER.

Luther Sargent, Canterbury.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

J. Ware Butterfield, Florence, Kan. ; George E. Littlefield, Boston, Mass.

It was resolved that when the Society adjourn to-day, it do so to meet at Grand Army Hall, in Concord, on Thursday, Dec. 20, 1888, at 7 : 30 o'clock P. M., at which meeting Elder Henry C. Blinn would deliver an address upon "Shakerism in New Hampshire."

Adjourned.

CONCORD, Thursday, Dec. 20, 1888.

The adjourned sixty-sixth annual meeting of the Society was held in the hall of the Grand Army of the Republic, this day at seven and a half o'clock P. M., the president in the chair.

The president read a communication from the New England Historic, Genealogical Society, requesting permission to print in a forthcoming volume of the works of the late Charles W. Tuttle, Ph. D., an address of his delivered before the N. H. Historical Society, and published in its transactions. On motion of Mr. Hammond the request was granted.

Mr. Hammond, from the committee on new members, nominated the following-named persons, who were elected, by ballot and the requisite constitutional majority, members of the Society :

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

W. A. Fergusson, Lancaster ; Nahum J. Bachelder, East Andover ; J. F. Mahaney, Concord.

HONORARY MEMBER.

Hon. William W. Clapp, Boston.

Mr. Hammond presented the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted :

WHEREAS, Considerable interest has been manifested among historical students, of late, relative to the nationality of some of the early settlers in this state, commonly denominated "Scotch-Irish," therefore—

Resolved, That, in our opinion, it is expedient, and will be historically profitable, to have the subject investigated and fully discussed.

Resolved, That the standing committee be, and hereby is, respectfully requested to make arrangements for such discussion before this Society, and to invite such ladies and gentlemen as it may see fit to take part in the same.

The president, with opening remarks, introduced Henry C. Blinn, of Canterbury, who delivered an address upon "Shakerism in New Hampshire."

Mr. Moses Humphrey moved a vote of thanks to the speaker, which, after remarks by the mover, the president, and Messrs. John Kimball and Parker Pillsbury, was adopted.

The Society then adjourned, to meet again at the call of the president.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

BY THE NORTHMEN,

IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

ADDRESS

BEFORE THE N. H. HISTORICAL SOCIETY, APRIL 24, 1888,

BY REV. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, D. D.

On the 29th day of October, 1887, a statue erected to the memory of Leif, the son of Erik, the discoverer of America, was unveiled in the city of Boston, in the presence of a large assembly of citizens. The statue is of bronze, a little larger than life-size, and represents the explorer standing upon the prow of his ship, shading his eyes with his hand, and gazing towards the west. This monument¹ suggests the subject to which I wish to call your attention, viz., the story of the discovery of this continent by the Scandinavians nearly nine hundred years ago.

I must here ask your indulgence for the statement of a few preliminary historical facts in order that we may have a clear understanding of this discovery.

About the middle of the ninth century, Harald Haarfager, or the fair-haired, came to the throne of Norway. He was a young and handsome prince, endowed with great energy of will and many personal attractions. It is related that he fell in love with a beautiful princess. His addresses were, however, coolly rejected with the declaration that when he became king of Norway in reality, and not merely in name, she would

¹ If it be admitted, as it is almost universally, that the Scandinavians came to this continent in the last part of the tenth or the early part of the eleventh century, it is

give him both her heart and her hand. This admonition was not disregarded by the young king. The thirty-one principalities into which Norway was at that time divided were in a few years subjugated, and the petty chieftains or princes who ruled over them became obedient to the royal authority. The despotic rule, however, of the king was so irritating and oppressive that many of them sought homes of greater freedom in the inhospitable islands of the northern seas. Among the rest, Iceland, having been discovered a short time before, was colonized by them. This event occurred about the year 874. Notwithstanding the severity of the climate and the sterility of the soil, the colony rapidly increased in numbers and wealth, and an active commerce sprung up with the mother country, and was successfully maintained. At the end of a century, they had pushed their explorations still farther, and Greenland was discovered, and a colony was planted there, which continued to flourish for a long period.

About the year 985, a young, enterprising, and prosperous navigator, who had been accustomed to carry on a trade between Iceland and Norway, on returning from the latter in the summer of the year, found that his father had left Iceland some time before his arrival, to join a new colony which had been then recently planted in Greenland. This young merchant, who bore the name of Bjarni, disappointed at not finding his father in Iceland, determined to proceed on and pass the coming winter with him at the new colony in Greenland. Having obtained what information he could as to the geographical position of Greenland, this intrepid navigator accordingly set sail in his little barque, with a small number of men, in an unknown and untried sea, guided in his course only by the sun, moon, and other heavenly bodies.¹ After sailing three days they entirely lost sight of land. A north wind sprung up, accompanied with a dense fog, which utterly shrouded the heavens from their view, and left them at the mercy of the

eminently fitting that a suitable monument should mark and emphasize the event. And it seems equally fitting that it should be placed in Boston, the metropolis of New England, since it simply commemorates the event of their coming, but is not intended to indicate their land-fall, or the place of their temporary abode.

¹ The mariner's compass was not discovered till the twelfth or thirteenth century.

winds and the waves. Thus helpless, they were borne along for many days in an open and trackless ocean, they knew not whither. At length the fog cleared away, the blue sky appeared, and soon after they came in sight of land. On approaching near to it, they observed that it had a low, undulating surface, was without mountains, and was thickly covered with wood. It was obviously not the Greenland for which they were searching. Bearing away and leaving the land on the west, after sailing two days, they again came in sight of land. This was likewise flat and well wooded, but could not be Greenland, as that had been described to them as having very high snow-capped hills. Turning their prow from the land and launching out into the open sea, after a sail of three days, they came in sight of another country having a flat, rocky foreground, and mountains beyond with ice-clad summits. This was unlike Greenland as it had been described to them. They did not even lower their sails. They, however, subsequently found it to be an island. Continuing on their course, after sailing four days they came to Greenland, where Bjarni found his father, with whom he made his permanent abode.

This accidental discovery of lands hitherto unknown, and farther west than Greenland, and differing in important features from any countries with which they were familiar, awakened a very deep interest wherever the story was rehearsed. Bjarni was criticised, and blamed for not having made a thorough exploration and for bringing back such a meagre account of what he had seen. But while these discoveries were the frequent subject of conversation, both in Norway and in the colonies of Iceland and Greenland, it was not until fifteen years had elapsed that any serious attempt was made to verify the statement of Bjarni, or to secure any advantages from what he had discovered.

About the year 1000, Leif, the son of Erik, an early colonist of Greenland, determined to conduct an expedition in search of the new lands which had been seen on the accidental voyage of Bjarni. He accordingly fitted out a ship, and manned it with thirty-five men. Shaping their course by the direction and

advice of Bjarni, their first discovery was the country which Bjarni had seen last. On going ashore they saw no grass, but what appeared to be a plain of flat stones stretching back to icy mountains in the distance. They named it flat-stone land, or Helluland.

Again proceeding on their voyage, they came to another land which was flat, covered with wood, with low, white, sandy shores, answering to the second country seen by Bjarni. Having landed and made a personal inspection, they named the place woodland, or Markland.

Sailing once more into the open sea with a north-east wind, at the end of two days they came to a third country, answering to that which Bjarni had first seen. They landed upon an island situated at the mouth of a river. They left their ship in a sound between the island and the river. The water was shallow, and the receding tide soon left their ship on the beach. As soon, however, as their ship was lifted by the rising tide, they floated it into the river, and from thence into a lake, or an expansion of the river above its mouth. Here they landed and constructed temporary dwellings, but having decided to pass the winter, they proceeded to erect buildings for their more ample accommodation. They found abundance of fish in the waters, the climate mild, and the nature of the country such that they thought cattle would not even require feeding or shelter in winter. They observed that day and night were more equal than in Greenland or Iceland. The sun was above the horizon on the shortest day, if we may accept the interpretation of learned Icelandic scholars¹, from half past seven in

¹ This statement rests on the interpretation of Professor Finn Magnúsen, for which see "The Voyages of the Northmen to America," Prince Socely's ed., pp. 34, 126. Boston, 1877. The general description of the climate and the products of the soil are in harmony with this interpretation, but it has nevertheless been questioned. Other Icelandic writers differ from him, and make the latitude of the land-fall of Leif at 49° 55', instead of 41° 43' 10", as computed by Magnúsen.

This later interpretation is by Professor Gustav Storm. Vide *The Finding of Vineland the Good*, by Arthur Middleton Reeves, pp. 181-185. London, 1890. These interpretations are wide apart. Both writers are represented to be able and thorough scholars. When doctors disagree, who shall decide? The sciolists will doubtless range themselves on different sides, and fight it out to the bitter end.

The truth is, the chronology of that period in its major and minor applications was exceedingly indefinite. The year when events occurred is settled, when settled at all,

the morning till half past four in the afternoon. Having completed their house-building, they devoted the rest of the season to a careful and systematic exploration of the country about them, not venturing, however, so far that they could not return to their homes in the evening.

In this general survey they discovered grapes growing in great abundance, and timber of an excellent quality and highly valued in the almost woodless region from whence they came. With these two commodities they loaded their ship, and in the spring returned to Greenland. Leif gave to the country, which he had thus discovered and explored, a name, as he said, after its "qualities," and called it Vineland.

The next voyage was made by Thorvald, a brother of Leif, probably in the year 1002. The same ship was employed, and was manned with thirty men. They repaired at once to the booths or temporary houses constructed by Leif, where they passed three winters, subsisting chiefly upon fish, which they took in the waters near them. In the summers they explored the country in various directions to a considerable distance. They discovered no indications of human occupation except on an island, where they found a corn-shed constructed of wood. The second year they discovered native inhabitants in great numbers, armed with missiles, and having a vast flotilla of boats made of the skins of animals. With these natives they came into hostile conflict, in which Thorvald received a wound of which he subsequently died. He was buried at a spot selected by himself, and crosses were set up at his head and at his feet. After another winter, having loaded their ship with grapes and vines, the explorers returned to Greenland.

with great difficulty; and it is plain that the divisions of the day were loose and indefinite. At least, they could only be approximately determined. In the absence of clocks, watches, and chronometers, there could not be anything like scientific accuracy, and the attempt to apply scientific principles to Scandinavian chronology only renders confusion still more confused. The terms which they used to express the divisions of the day were all indefinite. One of them, for example, was *hirdis rismál*, which means the time when the herdsmen took their breakfast. This was sufficiently definite for the practical purposes of a simple, primitive people; but as the breakfast hour of a people is always more or less various, *hirdis rismál* probably covered a period from one to three hours, and therefore did not furnish the proper data for calculating latitude. Any meaning given by translators touching exact hours of the day must, therefore, be taken *cum grano salis*, or for only what it is worth.

The death of Thorvald was a source of deep sorrow to his family, and his brother Thorstein resolved to visit Vineland and bring home his body. He accordingly embarked in the same ship, with twenty-five chosen men, and his wife Gudrid. The voyage proved unsuccessful. Having spent the whole summer in a vain attempt to find Vineland, they returned to Greenland, and during the winter Thorstein died, and the next year his widow Gudrid was married to Thorfinn Karlsefni, a wealthy Icelandic merchant.

In the year 1007, three ships sailed for Vineland, one commanded by Thorfinn Karlsefni, one by Bjarni Grimolfson, and the third by Thorvard, the husband of Freydis, the half-sister of Leif, the son of Erik. There were altogether in the three ships, one hundred and sixty men, and cattle of various kinds taken with them perhaps for food, or possibly to be useful in case they should decide to make a permanent settlement. They attempted, however, nothing beyond a careful exploration of the country, which they found beautiful and productive, its forests abounding in wild game, its rivers well stocked with fish, and the soil producing a spontaneous growth of native grains. They bartered trifles with the natives for their furs, but they were able to hold little intercourse with them. The natives were so exceedingly hostile that the lives of the explorers were in constant peril, and they consequently, after some bloody skirmishes, abandoned all expectation of making a permanent settlement. At the end of three years, Karlsefni and his voyagers returned to Greenland.

In the year 1011 Freydis, the half-sister of Leif, inspired by the hope of a profitable voyage, entered into a partnership with two merchants, and passed a winter in Vineland. She was a bold, masculine woman, of unscrupulous character, and destitute of every womanly quality. She fomented discord, contrived the assassination of her partners in the voyage, and early the next spring, having loaded all the ships with timber and other commodities, she returned with rich and valuable cargoes for the Greenland market.

Such is the story of the discovery of America in the last years of the tenth and the early years of the eleventh centuries.

These four expeditions of which I have given a very brief outline, passing over many interesting but unimportant details, constitute all of which there remains any distinct and well defined narrative. Other voyages may have been made during the same or a later period. Allusions are found in early Scandinavian writings, which may confirm the narratives which we have given, but add to them nothing really essential or important.

The natural and pertinent question which the historical student has a right to ask is this: On what evidence does this story rest? What reason have we to believe that these voyages were ever made?

I will endeavor to make the answer to these inquiries as plain and clear as possible.

There are two kinds of evidence by which remote historical events may be established, viz., ancient writings, which can be relied upon as containing truthful statements of the alleged events, and, secondly, historical monuments and remains illustrating and confirming the written narratives. Such events may be established by one of these classes of evidence alone, or by both in concurrence.

Our attention shall be directed in the first place to certain ancient writings in which the story of this discovery of America is found. What are these ancient writings? and to what extent do they challenge our belief?

At the time that the alleged voyages to this continent in the year 1000, and a few years subsequent, were made, the old Danish or Icelandic tongue, then spoken in Iceland and Greenland, the vernacular of the explorers, had not been reduced to a written language, and of course the narrative of these voyages could not at that time be written out. But there was in that language an oral literature of a peculiar and interesting character. It had its poetry, its romance, its personal memoirs, and its history. It was nevertheless unwritten. It was carried in the memory, and handed down from one generation to another. In distinguished and opulent families men were employed to memorize and rehearse on festivals and other great occasions, as a part of the entertainment, the narratives, which had been skilfully put together and polished for public recital, relating to

the exploits and achievements of their ancestors. These narratives were called sagas, and those who memorized and repeated them were called sagamen. It was a hundred and fifty years after the alleged discovery of this continent before the practice began of committing Icelandic sagas to writing. Suitable parchment was difficult to obtain, and the process was slow and expensive, and only a few documents of any kind at first were put into written form. But in the thirteenth century written sagas multiplied to vast numbers. They were deposited in convents and in other places of safety. Between 1650 and 1715, these old Icelandic parchments were transferred to the libraries of Stockholm and Copenhagen. They were subsequently carefully read, and classified by the most competent and erudite scholars. Among them two sagas were found relating to discoveries far to the southwest of Greenland, the outlines of which I have given you in the preceding pages. The earliest of these two sagas is supposed to have been written by Hauk Erlendsson, who died in 1334. Whether he copied it from a previous manuscript, or took the narrative from oral tradition, cannot be determined. The other was written out in its present form somewhere between 1387 and 1395. It was probably copied from a previous saga not known to be now in existence, but which is conjectured to have been originally written out in the twelfth century. These documents are pronounced by scholars qualified to judge of the character of ancient writings to be authentic, and were undoubtedly believed by the writers to be narratives of historical truth.

They describe with great distinctness the outlines of our eastern coast, including soil, products, and climate, beginning in the cold, sterile regions of the north and extending down to the warm and fruitful shores of the south. It is to be observed that there is no improbability that these alleged voyages should have been made. That a vessel, sailing from Iceland and bound for Greenland, should be blown from its course and drifted to the coast of Nova Scotia or of New England, is an occurrence that might well be expected; and to believe that such an accidental voyage should be followed by other voyages of discovery, demands no extraordinary credulity.

The sagas, or narratives, in which the alleged voyages are described, were written out as we have them to-day, more than a hundred years before the discoveries of Columbus were made in the West Indies,¹ or those of John Cabot on our northern Atlantic shores. The writers of these sagas had no information derived from other sources on which to build up the fabric of their story. To believe that the agreement of the narratives in their general outlines with the facts as we now know them was accidental, a mere matter of chance, is impossible. The coincidences are so many, and the events so far removed from anything that the authors had themselves ever seen, or of which they had any knowledge, that it becomes easier and more reasonable to accept the narratives in their general features than to deny the authenticity of the records. If we reject them, we must on the same principle reject the early history of all the civilized peoples of the earth, since that history has been obtained in all cases more or less directly from oral tradition.

In their general scope, therefore, the narrative of the sagas has been accepted by the most judicious and dispassionate historical students, who have given to the subject careful and conscientious study.

But when we descend to minor particulars, unimportant to the general drift and import of the narratives, we find it difficult, nay, I may say impossible, to accept them fully and with an unhesitating confidence. Narratives that have come down

¹ It has been conjectured by some writers that Columbus on a visit to Iceland learned something of the voyages of the Northmen to America, and was aided by this knowledge in his subsequent discoveries. There is no evidence whatever that such was the case. In writing a memoir of his father, Ferdinando Columbus found among his papers a memorandum in which Columbus states that, in February, 1477, he sailed a hundred leagues beyond Tile, that this island was as large as England, that the English from Bristol carried on a trade there, that the sea when he was there was not frozen over; and he speaks also of the high tides. In the same paragraph we are informed that the southern limit of this island is 63° from the equator, which identifies it with Iceland. Beyond these facts, the memorandum contains no information. There is no evidence that Columbus was at any time in communication with the natives of Iceland on any subject whatever. There is no probability that he sought, or obtained, any information of the voyages of the Northmen to this continent. Ferdinando Columbus's life of his father may be found in Barcia's *Historical Collections*, Vol. I. Madrid, 1749. It is a translation from the Italian, printed in Venice in 1571. An English translation appears in Churchill's *Collections*, in Kerr's, and in Pinkerton's, but its mistranslations and errors render it wholly untrustworthy.

to us on the current of oral tradition are sure to be warped and twisted from their original form and meaning. Consciously or unconsciously they are shaped and colored more or less by the several minds through which they have passed. No one can fail to have witnessed the changes that have grown up in the same story, as repeated by one and another in numerous instances within his own observation. The careful historian exercises, therefore, great caution in receiving what comes to him merely in oral tradition.¹

We must not, however, forget that the sagamen in whose memories alone these narratives were preserved at least a hundred and fifty years, and not unlikely for more than three hundred, were professional narrators of events. It was their office and duty to transmit to others what they had themselves received. Their professional character was in some degree a guarantee for the preservation of the truth. But nevertheless it was impossible through a long series of oral narrations, that errors should not creep in; that the memory of some of them should not fail at times; and if it did fail there was no authority or standard by which their errors could be corrected. Moreover it is probable that variations were purposely introduced here and there, in obedience to the sagaman's conceptions of an improved style and a better taste. What variations took place through the failure of the memory or the conceit of the sagamen, whether few or many, whether trivial or important, can never be determined. It is therefore obvious that our interpretation of minor particulars in the sagas cannot be critical, and any nicely exact meaning, any absolute certainty, cannot be successfully maintained, since an inevitable doubt, never to be removed, overshadows these minor particulars. We may state, therefore, without hesitation, that the narratives

¹ It is somewhat remarkable that most writers who have attempted to estimate the value of the sagas as historical evidence have ignored the fact, that from a hundred and fifty to three hundred years they existed only in oral tradition, handed down from one generation to another, subject to the changes which are inevitable in oral statements. They are treated by these critics as they would treat scientific documents, a coast or geodetic survey, or an admiralty report, in which lines and distances are determined by the most accurate instruments, and measurements and records are made simultaneously. It is obvious that their premises must be defective, and consequently their deductions are sure to be erroneous.

of the sagas are to be accepted only in their general outlines and prominent features. So far we find solid ground. If we advance farther we tread upon quicksands, and are not sure of our foothold.

The question here naturally arises, viz., If in minor particulars the sagas cannot be fully relied upon, to what extent can we identify the countries discovered, and the places visited by the Northmen?

In answer to this very proper inquiry, I observe that, according to the narrative of the sagas, and the interpretation of Scandinavian scholars, the first country that the explorers discovered after leaving Greenland answers in its general features to Newfoundland, with its sterile soil, its rocky surface, and its mountains in the back-ground. The second answers to Nova Scotia, with its heavy forests, its low, level coast, and its white, sandy cliffs and beaches. The third answers to New England in temperature, climate, productions of the soil, the flat, undulating surface of the country, and its apparent distance from Greenland, the base or starting-point from which these voyages of discovery were made.

The statements of the sagas coincide with so many of the general features of our Atlantic coast that there is a strong probability, not indeed rising to a demonstration, but to as much certainty as belongs to anything in the period of unwritten history, that the Vineland of the Northmen was somewhere on our American Atlantic coast. Of this there is little room for doubt. But when we go beyond this there is absolutely no certainty whatever. The local descriptions of the sagas are all general and indefinite. They identify nothing. When they speak of an island, a cape, a river, or a bay, they do not give us any clue to the locality where the said island, or cape, or river, or bay is situated. The whole coast of New England and of the English Provinces farther east is serrated with capes and bays and river-inlets, and is likewise studded with some hundreds of islands. It would be exceedingly interesting, indeed a great achievement, if we could clearly fix or identify the land-fall of Leif, the Scandinavian explorer, and point out the exact spot where he erected his houses and passed the winter.

The key to this identification, if any exists, is plainly the description of the place as given in the sagas. If we find in the sagas the land-fall of Leif, the place where the Scandinavians landed, so fully described that it can be clearly distinguished from every other place on our coast, we shall then have accomplished this important historical achievement. Let us examine this description as it stands in these ancient documents.

Leaving Markland, they were, says the saga, "two days at sea before they saw land, and they sailed thither and came to an island which lay to the eastward of the land." Here they landed and made observations as to the grass and the sweetness of the dew. "After that," continues the saga, "they went to the ship, and sailed into a sound, which lay between the island and a ness (promontory), which ran out to the eastward of the land; and then steered westwards past the ness. It was very shallow at ebb-tide, and their ship stood up, so that it was far to see from the ship to the water.

"But so much did they desire to land, that they did not give themselves time to wait until the water again rose under their ship, but ran at once on shore, at a place where a river flows out of a lake; but so soon as the waters rose up under the ship, then took they boats, and rowed to the ship, and floated it up to the river, and thence into the lake, and there cast anchor, and brought up from the ship their skin cots, and made there booths. After this they took council, and formed the resolution of remaining there for the winter, and built there large houses."

In this brief extract are all the data which we have relating to the land-fall of Leif, and to the place where he erected his houses, which were occupied by himself, and by other explorers in subsequent years.

We shall observe that we have in this description an *island* at the mouth of a river. Whether the island was large or small, whether it was round, square, cuneiform, broad, narrow, high or low, we are not told. It was simply an island, and of it we have no further description or knowledge whatever.

Their ship was anchored in what they call a *sound*, between the island and a promontory or tongue of land which ran out to

the eastward. The breadth or extent of the sound at high water, or at low water, is not given. It may have been broad, covering a vast expanse, or it may have been very small, embraced within a few square rods. It was simply a sound, a shallow piece of water, where their ship was stranded at low tide. Of its character we know nothing more whatever.

Then we have a *river*. Whether it was a large river or a small one, long or short, wide or narrow, deep or shallow, a fresh water or tidal stream, we are not informed. All we know of the river is that their ship could be floated up its current at least at high tide.

The river flowed out of a *lake*. No further description of the lake is given. It may have been a large body of water, or it may have been a very small one. It may have been only an enlargement or expansion of the river, or it may have been a bay receiving its waters from the ocean, rising and falling with the tides, and the river only the channel of its incoming and receding waters.

On the borders of this lake, or bay, or enlargement of the river, as the case may have been, they built their *houses*; whether on the right or left shore, whether near the outlet, or miles away, we know not.

It is easy to see how difficult, how impossible, it is to identify the landing place and temporary abode of the Northmen on our coast from this loose and indefinite description of the sagas.

In the nearly nine hundred years which have passed since the discovery of this continent by these northern explorers, it would be unreasonable not to suppose that very great changes have taken place at the mouth of the rivers and tidal bays along our Atlantic coast. There is probably not a river's mouth or a tidal inlet on our whole eastern frontier, which has not been transformed in many and important features during this long lapse of time. Islands have been formed, and islands have ceased to exist. Sands have been drifting, shores have been crumbling, new inlets have been formed, and old ones have been closed up. Nothing is more unfixed and changeable than the shores of estuaries, and of rivers where they flow into the ocean.

But even if we suppose that no changes have taken place in this long lapse of time, there are, doubtless, between Long Island Sound and the eastern limit of Nova Scotia, a great number of rivers with all the characteristics of that described by the sagas. Precisely the same characteristics belong to the Taunton, the Charles, the Merrimack, the Piscataqua, the Kennebec, the Penobscot, the Saint Croix, and the St. John. All these rivers have one or more islands at their mouth, and there are abundant places near by where a ship might be stranded at low tide, and in each of these rivers there are expansions or bays from which they flow into the ocean.¹ And there are, probably, twenty other less important rivers on our coast, where the same conditions may likewise be found. What sagacious student of history, what experienced navigator, or what learned geographer has the audacity to say that he is able to tell us near which of these rivers the Northmen constructed their habitations, and made their temporary abode! The identification is plainly impossible. Nothing is more certain than the uncertainty that enters into all the local descriptions contained in the Icelandic sagas. In the numerous explorations of those early navigators, there is not a bay, a cape, a promontory, or a river, so clearly described, or so distinctly defined, that it can be identified with any bay, cape, promontory, or river on our coast. The verdict of history on this point is plain, and must stand. Imagination and fancy have their appropriate sphere, but their domain is fiction, and not fact; romance, and not history; and it is the duty of the historical student to hold them within the limits of their proper field.

But there is yet another question which demands an answer. Did the Northmen leave on this continent any monuments or works which may serve as memorials of their abode here in the early part of the eleventh century?

The sources of evidence on this point must be looked for in the sagas, or in remains which can be clearly traced to the Northmen as their undoubted authors.

In the sagas, we are compelled to say, as much as we could desire it otherwise, that we have looked in vain for any such

¹ If the reader will examine our coast-survey maps, he will easily verify this statement.

testimony. They contain no evidence, not an intimation, that the Northmen constructed any mason work, or even laid one stone upon another for any purpose whatever. Their dwellings; such as they were, were hastily thrown together, to serve only for a brief occupation. The rest of their time, according to the general tenor of the narrative, was exclusively devoted to exploration, and to the preparation and laying in of a cargo for their return voyage. This possible source of evidence yields therefore no testimony that the Scandinavians left any structures which have survived down to the present time, and can therefore be regarded as memorials of their abode in this country.

But, if there is no evidence on this point in the sagas, are there to be found to-day on any part of our Atlantic coast remains which can be plainly traced to the work of the Northmen?

This question, we regret to say, after thorough examination and study, the most competent, careful, and learned antiquaries have been obliged to answer in the negative. Credulity has seized upon several comparatively antique works, whose origin half a century ago was not clearly understood, and has blindly referred them to the Northmen. Foremost among them were, first, the stone structure of arched mason work in Newport, Rhode Island; second, a famous rock, bearing inscriptions, lying in the tide-water near the town of Dighton, in Massachusetts; and, third, the "skeleton in armor" found at Fall River, in the same state. No others have been put forward on any evidence that challenges a critical examination.

The old mill at Newport, situated on the farm of Benedict Arnold, an early governor of Rhode Island, was called in his will "my stone built wind mill," and had there been in his mind any mystery about its origin, he could hardly have failed to indicate it as a part of his description. Roger Williams, the pioneer settler of Rhode Island, educated at the University of Cambridge, England, a voluminous author, was himself an antiquary, and deeply interested in everything that pertained to our aboriginal history. Had any building of arched mason work, with some pretensions to architecture, existed at the time when he first took up his abode in Rhode Island, and before any English settlements had been made there, he could

not have failed to mention it: a phenomenon so singular, unexpected, and mysterious must have attracted his attention. His silence on the subject renders it morally certain that no such structure could have been there at that time.¹

The inscriptions on the Dighton rock present rude cuttings, intermingled with outline figures of men and animals. The whole, or any part of them, baffles and defies all skill in interpretation. Different scholars have thought they discerned in the shapeless traceries Phœnician, Hebrew, Scythian, and Runic characters or letters. Doubtless some similitude to them may here and there be seen. They are probably accidental resemblances. But no rational interpretation has ever been given, and it seems now to be generally conceded by those best qualified to judge, that they are the work of our native Indians, of very trivial import, if, indeed, they had any meaning whatever.

The "skeleton in armor," found at Fall River, has no better claim than the rest to a Scandinavian origin. What appeared to be human bones were found in a sand-bank, encased in metallic bands of brass. Its antecedents are wholly unknown. It may possibly have been the relics of some early navigator, cast upon our shore, who was either killed by the natives or died a natural death, and was buried in the armor in which he was clad. Or, what is far more probable, it may have been the remains of one of our early Indians, overlaid even in his grave, according to their custom, with the ornaments of brass, which he had moulded and shaped with his own hands while living.²

¹ Although most antiquaries and historical students have abandoned all belief in the Scandinavian origin of this structure, yet in the March number of Scribner's Magazine, 1879, an article may be found in defence of the theory that it was erected in the eleventh century by the Northmen. The argument is founded on its architectural construction, but it is clearly refuted by Mr. George C. Mason, Jr., in the Magazine of American History, Vol. III, p. 541.

² In Professor Putnam's Report, as Curator of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, in 1887, will be found the following interesting account of the "Skeleton in Armor:"

"I must, however, mention as of particular interest relating to the early period of contact between the Indians and Europeans on this continent, the presentation, by Dr. Samuel Kneeland, of two of the brass tubes found with the skeleton of an Indian near Fall River, about which so much has been written, including the well known verses by Longfellow, entitled 'The Skeleton in Armor.' That two of the 'links of the armor'

Could the veil be lifted, some such stories as these would doubtless spring up from the lifeless bones. But oblivion has for many generations brooded over these voiceless remains. Their story belongs to the domain of fancy and imagination. Poetry has woven it into an enchanting ballad. Its rhythm and its polished numbers may always please the ear and gratify the taste. But history, the stern and uncompromising arbiter of past events, will, we may be sure, never own the creations of the poet or the dreams of the enthusiast to be her legitimate offspring.

Half a century has now elapsed since the sagas have been accessible to the English reader in his own language. No labor has been spared by the most careful, painstaking, and conscientious historians in seeking for remains which can be reasonably identified as the work of the Northmen. None whatever have been found, and we may safely predict that none will be discovered, that can bear any better test of their genuineness than those to which we have just alluded.¹

should find their final resting place in this Museum is interesting in itself, and calls up in imagination the history of the bits of metal of which they are made. Probably some early emigrant brought from Europe a brass kettle, which by barter, or through the vicissitudes of those early days, came into the possession of an Indian of one of the New England tribes and was by him cut up for ornaments, arrow points, and knives. One kind of ornament he made by rolling little strips of the brass into the form of long, slender cylinders, in imitation of those he had, probably, before made of copper. These were fastened side by side so as to form an ornamental belt, in which he was buried. Long afterwards, his skeleton was discovered and the brass beads were taken to be portions of the armor of a Norseman. They were sent, with other things found with them, to Copenhagen, and the learned men of the old and new world wrote and sung their supposed history. Chemists made analyses and the truth came out; they were brass, not bronze nor iron. After nearly half a century had elapsed these two little tubes were separated from their fellows, and again crossed the Atlantic to rest by the side of similar tubes of brass and of copper, which have been found with other Indian braves; and their story shows how much can be made out of a little thing when fancy has full play, and imagination is not controlled by scientific reasoning, and conclusions are drawn without comparative study." Vide *Twentieth Annual Report of the Peabody Museum*, Vol. III, p. 543.

In an article on "Agricultural Implements of the New England Indians," Professor Henry W. Haynes, of Boston, shows that the Dutch were not allowed to barter with the Pequots, because they sold them "kettles" and the like with which they made arrow-heads." Vide *Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History*. Vol. XXII, p. 439. In later times brass was in frequent, not to say common, use among the Indians.

¹ There are in many parts of New England old walls and such like structures, apparently of very little importance when they were originally built, never made the subject of record, disused now for many generations, and consequently their origin and purpose

It is the office and duty of the historian to seek out facts, to distinguish the true from the false, to sift the wheat from the chaff, to preserve the one and to relegate the other to the oblivion to which it belongs.

Tested by the canons that the most judicious scholars have adopted in the investigation of all early history, we cannot doubt that the Northmen made four or five voyages to the coast of America in the last part of the tenth and the first part of the eleventh centuries; that they returned to Greenland with cargoes of grapes and timber, the latter a very valuable commodity in the markets both of Greenland and Iceland; that their abode on our shores was temporary; that they were mostly occupied in explorations, and made no preparations for establishing any permanent colony; except their temporary dwellings they erected no structures whatever, either of wood or of stone. We have intimations that other voyages were made to this continent, but no detailed account of them has survived to the present time.

These few facts constitute the substance of what we know of these Scandinavian discoveries. Of the details we know little: they are involved in indefiniteness, uncertainty, and doubt. The place of their first landing, the location of their dwellings, the parts of the country which they explored, are so indefinitely described that they are utterly beyond the power of identification.

But I should do injustice to the subject to which I have ventured to call your attention, if I did not add that writers are not wanting who claim to know vastly more of the details than I can see my way clear to admit. They belong to that select class of historians who are distinguished for an exuberance of imagination and a redundancy of faith. It is a very easy and simple thing for them to point out the land-fall of Leif, the river which he entered, the island at its mouth, the bay where

have passed entirely from the memory of man. Such remains are not uncommon: they may be found all along our coast. But there are few writers bold enough to assert that they are the work of the Northmen simply because their history is not known, and especially since it is very clear that the Northmen erected no stone structures whatever. Those who accept such palpable absurdities would doubtless easily believe that the "Tenterden steeple was the cause of the Goodwin Sands."

they cast anchor, the shore where they built their temporary houses, the spot where Thorvald was buried, and where they set up crosses at his head and at his feet. They tell us what headlands were explored on the coast of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and what inlets and bays were entered along the shores of Maine. The narratives which they weave from a fertile brain are ingenious and entertaining: they give to the sagas more freshness and greater personality, but when we look for the facts on which their allegations rest, for anything that may be called evidence, we find only the creations of an undisciplined imagination and an agile fancy.

It is, indeed, true that it would be highly gratifying to believe that the Northmen made more permanent settlements on our shores, that they reared spacious buildings and strong fortresses of stone and mason work, that they gathered about them more of the accessories of a national, or even of a colonial existence; but history does not offer us any choice: we must take what she gives us, and under the limitations which she imposes. The truth, unadorned and without exaggeration, has a beauty and a nobility of its own. It needs no additions to commend it to the historical student. If he be a true and conscientious investigator, he will take it just as he finds it: he will add nothing to it: he will take nothing from it.

ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, Wednesday, June 12, 1889.

The sixty-seventh annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held this day, at the Society's rooms, at 11 o'clock A. M., the President, Hon. J. Everett Sargent, in the chair.

The reading of the records of recent meetings, already printed in the Proceedings, was dispensed with.

The Recording Secretary reported that the following persons had accepted membership during the past year :

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

George E. Todd, Mrs. Annette M. R. Cressy, Mrs. Caroline B. Bartlett, Concord ; Frederick Smyth, Mrs. Marion Smyth, Walter M. Parker, Manchester ; Hon. James Willis Patterson, Hanover ; George Peabody Little, Pembroke ; W. A. Fergusson, Lancaster.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Edward H. Elwell, Portland, Me. ; George E. Littlefield, Boston, Mass. ; John Edwin Mason, M. D., Washington, D. C.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Mellen Chamberlain, William W. Clapp, Boston, Mass.

The report was accepted.

Messrs. C. H. Bell, I. K. Gage, and W. Odlin were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

Messrs. I. W. Hammond, J. E. Pecker, and Sylvester Dana were appointed a committee to nominate new members.

Judge J. E. Sargent signified his purpose to decline further service as President of the Society.

The following reports of the Treasurer and Librarian were read, accepted, and ordered on file :

To the New Hampshire Historical Society :

The Treasurer respectfully submits the following report of receipts and expenditures from June 20, 1888, to June 12, 1889 :

RECEIPTS.

By balance,	\$10,710.00
cash received from initiation fees,	60.00
assessments,	359.00
interest on invested funds,	548.88
for books and pamphlets,	115.95
	<hr/> \$11,793.83

EXPENDITURES.

To paid Isaac W. Hammond, salary,	\$250.00
“ “ special,	20.00
“ “ sundry ex-	
penses,	31.51
Addie F. Hooper, services,	29.25
B. F. Stevens, London, on ac-	
count of papers in Public Rec-	
ord,	900.00
Republican Press Association,	15.99
Ira C. Evans, printing Part IV,	163.25
“ “ “ Proceedings,	89.60
“ “ “ circulars, etc.,	3.25
N. H. Democratic Press Asso.,	16.50
R. P. Staniels & Co., insurance,	35.00
Crawford & Stockbridge, binding,	55.35
M. Bateman,	8.51
J. B. Walker, expenses at dinner,	6.50
J. C. A. Hill, expenses at celebra-	
tion,	93.18
Books and pamphlets,	31.87
Water rent,	4.50
Postage and Journal,	6.82
sundry bills,	13.35
	<hr/> \$1,774.43
	<hr/> \$10,019.40

Permanent fund,	\$8,115.95	
Publication fund,	600.00	
Balance of fund for papers in Public Rec-		
ord, London,	100.00	
Current funds,	1,203.45	
	—————	\$10,019.40
Increase the past year,		\$209.40
W. P. FISKE, <i>Treasurer.</i>		

The undersigned, having examined the accounts of Wm. P. Fiske, Treasurer of the New Hampshire Historical Society, find the receipts for the year ending June 12, 1889, to have been \$1,083.83, and the disbursements for the same time \$1,774.43, which deducted from the balance on hand at the close of last year, \$10,710.00, leaves the balance of \$10,019.40 as the amount of funds belonging to said Society,—all of which I find properly cast, and sustained by satisfactory vouchers.

ISAAC K. GAGE, *Auditor.*

CONCORD, N. H., June 12, 1889.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

SOCIETY'S ROOMS, June 12, 1889.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

Ladies and Gentlemen: Your Librarian respectfully submits the following as his annual report:

The additions during the past year have been 1,754 miscellaneous pamphlets, 314 bound volumes by donations and exchange, 2 town histories by purchase, and 58 volumes, which have been bound for the Society by authority of the Library Committee, the latter being publications of various historical societies, which have been received from time to time in parts, making a total addition of 374 bound volumes; 101 manuscript sermons of Rev. Nathaniel Haven, D. D., from Mr. John Albee, of New Castle; 17 broadsides, proclamations, etc.; 2 maps; Tippecanoe cane, formerly belonging to the late Hon. Mason Weare Tappan; the uniforms and equipments of the late Gen. Albe Cady, of the U. S. army; a fine etching of Washington, framed, presented by Gen. Henry M. Baker; 6 volumes *Daily Monitor*, bound, from the Republican Press Association; and some of the powder and ball captured at Fort William and Mary in December, 1774, presented by John Demerit, Esq.

The following periodicals are regularly donated: *Magazine of American History*, by Mr. P. B. Cogswell; *Boston Daily*

Advertiser, by Hon. J. B. Walker; *Mirror and Farmer*, *People and Patriot*, *Veterans' Advocate*, *Great Falls Free Press*, *Plymouth Record*, *Exeter Gazette*, *Shaker Manifesto*, and *The Open Court*, by the several publishers.

The Society is again indebted to Hon. Charles H. Bell for a large quantity of valuable material, including bound volumes, pamphlets, and nearly a complete file of the *Exeter News-Letter*.

During the past year the rooms of the Society have been open to visitors on Tuesdays and Thursdays of each week, in accordance with a vote of the Society. They have also been accessible to members of the Society and historical students generally the other four secular days in each week, with few exceptions.

Your Librarian, having occupied a room in the building for his office as editor of State Papers, the state paying the expense of heating the same, has courteously received and attended to the wants of all callers, whether they came on the days for which he was paid by the Society, or those devoted to his other labors, notwithstanding such attentions on four days of the week were a tax on his own time. There seemed to him to be no other way to do without discommoding, and in some cases offending, members of the Society, especially those from out of town who happened to be in the city on other business, and, having some time to spare, desired to avail themselves of the privileges to which the payment of the annual assessment entitled them.

It is the opinion of your Librarian that the prosperity of the Society, and its utility to the citizens of the state as an historical institution, demands open doors during the entire year. It is also his opinion, that in consideration of the fact that its historical and genealogical treasures, now so much sought after, are accessible to all of our citizens free of charge, the state should assist the Society, by a yearly appropriation, in its endeavor to accumulate all such material as is required by local historians, and in keeping the library open for the benefit of the public. It is an educational institution, supported by private means, designed to collect and preserve all manuscripts, prints, etc., which give any light upon the history of our state especially, and other states of the Union generally, so far as its means will permit. An appropriation from the state, which is now prosperous and abundantly able, will enable the Society to add to its valuable material, and make the same accessible to the public.

It is evident that an increasing interest in the Society is being developed among our citizens, and that it is caused partly by

our more frequent meetings, by the publication of the Society's Proceedings containing addresses of much historic value, and by a volume of collections printed from ancient manuscripts; and largely because the rooms have been open to the public, and the library and manuscript records accessible to members of the institution and historical students in general.

Hon. J. B. Walker, of the Standing Committee, made a verbal report, which was accepted.

The report of the Publishing Committee, presented by I. W. Hammond, was accepted, and ordered on file.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION.

The Committee on Publication respectfully presents the following report:

Part I of Volume II of the Proceedings of the Society has been printed and mailed to the members of the Society. Its contents are as follows: Records of meetings of the Society from June 13, 1888, to date, including the exercises at the celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the ratification by New Hampshire of the Federal Constitution, with the address of Hon. James Willis Patterson, and the poem by Allan Eastman Cross.

A volume of Collections is in press, and will issue in about two months; 368 pages are in print, advance sheets of which may be seen. Any one desiring to subscribe for the work may leave his name with this committee. The contents so far as printed are,—Records of Transactions of the Annual Convocation of Ministers in the Province of New Hampshire, 1747 to 1785; Correspondence between President Wheelock of Dartmouth College, and Hon. John Phillips of Exeter, 1765 to 1779; Diaries of Rev. Timothy Walker, annotated by Hon. Joseph B. Walker, 1746 to 1764; Record of 15th Reg. of N. H. Militia, 1774; Orderly-book of Captain Daniel Livermore's Co., Continental Army, 1780—West Point; Records of New England Revolutionary Committee's Meetings, at Providence, R. I., Dec. 25, 1776, at New Haven, Conn., January, 1778, and in Boston, Mass., August, 1780; Depositions in the Case of Councillor Peter Livius *vs.* Governor John Wentworth; Revolutionary Diary of Adjutant Silvanus Reed, R. I. Expedition, 1778.

This Society owns a manuscript record-book of 354 pages folio, of the proceedings of a committee of congress, elected in 1780, on the conduct of the war. In it are recorded all of the

committee's correspondence with the generals of the army, and with congress. It has been examined by several historical students who have visited our rooms, and some inquiries have been made by your Librarian without finding a duplicate of it, and it is believed that none exists. If that shall prove to be the case, it is an exceedingly valuable document, and should be printed in the near future.

CHARLES H. BELL,
ISAAC WEARE HAMMOND,
A. S. BATCHELLOR,

Committee on Publication.

Isaac W. Hammond, of the Committee on Calendar of Historical Papers in London, made a report, which was accepted, and the committee continued.

The attention of the Society was called to a portrait of Gov. Benjamin Pierce, loaned to the Society for safe-keeping by Mrs. Frances McNiel Potter; whereupon Joseph B. Walker moved the following vote, which was passed:

Voted, That this Society accepts with pleasure the loan, by Mrs. Judge Potter, of a portrait in oil of ex-Governor Benjamin Pierce, and that she be invited to make the loan a permanent one, and that the Secretary be requested to send her a copy of this vote.

Hon. J. B. Walker presented the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the usual annual tax of three dollars be hereby assessed upon each member of the Society for the ensuing year, and that upon the payment of said tax by each member of the Society, such member shall be entitled to purchase of the Society a copy of the IXth volume of the Society's Collections, now in press, at the price of one dollar and twenty-five cents, and that the regular price of the volume to persons not members of the Society be \$2.50.

Hon. Charles H. Bell, from the Committee to Nominate Officers, made a report, which was accepted and adopted, and the following gentlemen, nominated therein, were, by ballot, elected officers of the Society for the ensuing year:

President, Hon. Samuel C. Eastman; *Vice-Presidents*, Hon. George L. Balcom and Hon. John J. Bell; *Recording Secretary*, Amos Hadley, Ph.D.; *Corresponding Secretary*, Hon. Sylvester Dana; *Treasurer*, William P. Fiske, Esq.; *Librarian*, Isaac W. Hammond, A. M.; *Necrologist*, Hon. J. B. Walker; *Standing Committee*, Hon. Joseph B. Walker, Joseph C. A. Hill, Esq., Gen. Howard L. Porter; *Publishing Committee*, Hon. Charles H. Bell, Isaac W. Hammond, A. M., Albert S. Batchellor, Esq.; *Library Committee*, J. Eastman Pecker, Esq., John C. Ordway, Rev. Charles L. Tappan.

I. W. Hammond, from the Committee on New Members, made a report, which was accepted, and the persons therein nominated were, on ballot, elected by the constitutional majority members of the Society, as follows:

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

David A. Taggart, Goffstown; Dr. George W. Pierce, Winchester; Henry B. Quinby, Gilford; Alvah W. Sulloway, Franklin; Marshall P. Hall, Manchester.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

W. H. Whitmore, Boston, Mass.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

W. Noel Sainsbury, Esq., assistant keeper of Her Majesty's Records, London, England; Prof. Oliver P. Hubbard, New York city; B. F. Stevens, London, England.

Mr. Amos Hadley presented the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be and are hereby tendered to Hon. J. Everett Sargent for his efficient and satisfactory performance of the duties of President for the past two years.

On motion of Mr. J. B. Walker, it was voted that when the Society adjourn this forenoon, it do so to meet again at half past one o'clock in the afternoon.

The President-elect and Messrs. J. E. Pecker and Woodbridge Odlin were appointed a Committee on Field Day, with full powers.

I. W. Hammond, J. B. Walker, and C. H. Bell were appointed a committee to select an orator for next year.

Adjourned at 12 o'clock, M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Society met in the Library room at half past one o'clock, P. M., Hon. J. Everett Sargent in the chair.

The annual address was then delivered by Hon. Ezra S. Stearns.

ANNUAL ADDRESS.

THE OFFERING OF LUNENBURG, MASS., TO CHESHIRE COUNTY.

Ties of kindred and association were potent agencies in the early immigration to New Hampshire. Except in the older and south-eastern part of the state, nearly all the settlements found in Massachusetts a parent town. The family names of Watertown, of Concord, of Newbury, of Salem, of Woburn, of Lancaster, and of Roxbury, were renewed in groups among the settlements within our borders. These influences, controlling and directing the early immigration from Massachusetts, are easily discerned. Previous to the permanent establishment of a Province line, many towns in New Hampshire were granted by Massachusetts, then claiming jurisdiction over a considerable area of our state. The grantees of a township quite generally were residents of a single town. Indeed, nearly every town in eastern Massachusetts had its colony in New Hampshire. The pride and interest of the parent town were reflected in the prosperity, and an impress of its inhabitants was renewed in the character, of the settlement. Under the Massachusetts charter, the grantees of Keene were residents of Wrentham and the immediate vicinity, and from that locality came the early settlers of the town; from Rowley, the home of the grantees, came the first settlers of Rindge; and from Ips-

wich, whose inhabitants received double favors, came the early pioneers of New Ipswich and Winchendon, adjoining Rindge. When these charters were annulled by the adjustment of the Province line, the influence and impress of the parent town were frequently renewed by the admission of many of the original proprietors among the grantees under charters issued by Governor Wentworth, or the Masonian proprietors. These proceedings, familiar to every student of history, demand no explanation, and the general truth of these premises is too self-evident for discussion. I propose, in this paper, to review the influence and the impress of one town in Massachusetts over the south-western portion of New Hampshire. At the beginning, the hardy pioneers and future husbandmen are gathering at Lunenburg; the field for subjection and cultivation is Cheshire county, and Charlestown, a part of the original county. In this connection, we do not overlook or underestimate the number and the character of the enterprising men from Northfield, and from other towns in the valley of the Connecticut, nor those no less worthy who came from the remoter towns in Massachusetts and Connecticut; but in an imperfect enumeration of the emigration from a small and well defined area, we shall find ample material for our present purpose.

Lunenburg, the prolific mother of towns, was severed from the wilderness by a decree of the General Court of Massachusetts, December 7, 1719. This date was at the dawn of an era of land speculation, which for a season stimulated an emigration from the older towns to the settlements. The growth of Lunenburg was continuous and vigorous, and many men of more than local reputation were assembled there. The town, then including the city of Fitchburg and the southern part of Ashby, was incorporated August 1, 1728. On the exterior, or farther in the wilderness, commencing with the year 1735, settlements were made in Ashburnham, Winchendon, Rindge, New Ipswich, and Peterborough; but in 1744 these infant settlements were abandoned, and for several years, and until these exterior settlements were renewed, Lunenburg was a border town, boldly and bravely meeting the dangers of an exposed and menaced frontier. The following petition, addressed to Gov-

ernor Dummer, and dated May 10, 1725, presents a vivid picture of their surroundings :

Sir :—We desire with thanks to acknowledge your Honour's care of us as well in times past as this present spring in sending Colo Buckmaster to se what postur of defence we war in & in further desiring to know our Afayrs which we would be glad to enform your Honour oftener of had we opertunity. we have here this spring 9 fameles posted in 5 garisons which we are all willing to stand their ground if they can ; they have the liberty if 2 garisons will come together to have the solders belonging to each garison with them for ther support Our manner of emproving the solders has been by scouting & sumtimes garding men at ther woork, sumtimes 2 or 3 days together in the woods, but wee think it more for our safety to scout round the town so as to cum in the same day for the strengthing our garisons at night & when our men gos out to woork they must have a gard or expose themselves & we must leave sum in our garisons or else they are exposed so that we canot keep a scout always out except we have more solders. We have made no discovrey of the enemy yet among us, but live in dayly expectation of them ; but knowing they are in the hands of god who is abel to restrain them to whos name we desire to give the praise of our presarvation the year past & in whos name we desire still to trust with dependance on your Honour's protection, a means under god of presarvation ; if your Honour shall think it needfull to make any adition to our number of solders we leve it to your Honours wise consedration & remain your Honours most humbel servants

Josiah Willard
Philip Goodridge.

Firmly maintaining a mutual trust in God and Governor Dummer, they devoutly measured their faith by the number of the soldiers delegated to their protection. In future years they were not unmindful of the necessity of violent measures for the defence of the border. In military discipline and in their daily lives, many of the early residents of Lunenburg were trained for the hardships and dangers which attended their later career in the frontier settlements of New Hampshire. Among the large number of men who, before and after the French and Indian war, were actively engaged in land speculation, none were more prominent than were several enterprising and influ-

ential men of this town. If a few of these men are named in this connection, it will not exclude them from a participation in our continued narrative. Chief among them were Col. Josiah Willard, and his half brother, Col. Benjamin Bellows; and closely allied was their neighbor in peace and comrade in the wars, Major Jonathan Hubbard, an honored resident of Lunenburg for many years, and while he did not remove to the New Hampshire grants, he possessed an interest in many of them. Gen. Joseph Blanchard, of Dunstable, married a daughter of Major Hubbard, and on these credentials he was speedily admitted to the association. He had wealth and a very considerable influence with the authorities of New Hampshire, and was an agent of the Masonian proprietors. He never lived in Lunenburg, but he continued in close alliance with his associates, and his successful solicitations for grants of land enriched the common treasury. Col. Josiah Willard, Jr., and John Jennison also married daughters of Major Hubbard, while Capt. Ephraim Wetherbee, Moses Gould, and Fairbanks Moor married sisters of Colonel Bellows, and were *ex officio* members of a close corporation. Valentine Butler and William Willard married daughters of Col. Josiah Willard, Sen., and at the hymeneal altar secured admission among the grantees of several townships.

It was a syndicate of blood as well as of treasure. They acquired large possessions in Cheshire county, and thither many of them removed. For several years the emigration was stimulated and continued. During the French and Indian War, when for a season the new settlements were abandoned, the fugitives, both former residents and strangers, sought safety and temporary homes within the defences of Lunenburg. By this association and many intermarriages, the sojourners became allied with the resident families, and upon their departure were attended or followed by many natives of the town. The second immigration exceeded the first, and extended over a wider field. In such numbers and in such types of sturdy men did the living current flow, that Rindge, Winchester, Charlestown, and Walpole were new Lunenburgs on the border of the receding wilderness.

In these movements, and during these years of emigration from Lunenburg to Cheshire county, the blood of the mother town became widely disseminated. Two thirds of the population of Rindge, until near the close of the past century, were descendants of Lunenburg families. Lunenburg names are found in nearly every list of grantees, and among the early settlers of many places.

The initial proceeding of record on the part of these men toward the settlement of Cheshire county appears in the petition of Col. Josiah Willard and sixty-three associates "for the grant of a tract of land six miles square lying on the east side of Connecticut river and between Northfield and the Truck-house to be by them settled into a township." This petition was entertained by the General Court of Massachusetts, Nov. 9, 1732. The council refused to concur in the affirmative action of the house, and the prayer of the petitioners was denied. In failure our worthies found no precedent. Immediately they renewed their petition, with such argument and solicitation that the grant was made, April 6, 1733. Nearly twenty years the township was called Earlington, and sometimes Arlington. It included nearly all of the present towns of Winchester and Hinsdale, and for several years it was essentially a colony of Lunenburg, and there the first chapter of its history was enacted. There dwelt many of the grantees, and there at the house of Isaac Farnsworth was held their first meeting, at which was sealed the doom of the forest, and was pronounced the decree that should stay the river in its onward course and compel it to grind the corn and saw the lumber for the new proprietors of the soil. From there went forth Nathan Heywood with the compass and chain to divide the wilderness into lots and set bounds to fields designed for tillage. In addition to the usual conditions that the grantees should settle a learned orthodox minister, build a house for the worship of God, build a stated number of dwellings, and bring into tillage a certain number of acres, there was one stipulation in the grant of Earlington which was exceptional. By it the grantees were enjoined "within two years from the date of the grant to clear and make a convenient travelling road twelve feet wide

from Lunenburg to Northfield, and build a house for receiving and entertaining travellers on said road about midway between Northfield and Lunenburg aforesaid." In the charter there was also a subsidiary grant of 150 acres to be located at the site selected for the house of entertainment. At a meeting of the grantees held in May, or one month after the date of the charter, measures were matured for building this historic road. Many persons residing in Lunenburg and vicinity were employed, and so vigorously was the work prosecuted that during the summer (1733) it was completed, extending through the wilderness a distance of forty-two miles. About twenty-four miles from Lunenburg, near the boundary line between Winchendon and Royalston, a house was erected, and was there established "for receiving and entertaining travellers." In 1735 the general court made a grant of 450 acres to support another house of entertainment on the line of the road.

The petition for this grant was signed by Benjamin Bellows, Hilkiah Boynton, and Moses Willard, and was endorsed by Josiah Willard. This grant was located, in the language of the record, partly on the fifteenth and partly on the sixteenth mile from the meeting-house in Lunenburg. The family who lived upon this grant, entertaining with homely fare the lonely traveller through the wilderness, were the earliest, and for a season, the only inhabitants of Ashburnham. The location of this ancient road much of the way is known at the present time. At a short distance from the centre of Lunenburg it was sharply deflected to the north of a direct course, extending through the south-western part of Ashby, which was then a part of Lunenburg. This course without doubt was adopted to avoid branches of the Nashua and Millers rivers. The continued location of the road through the northern parts of Ashburnham and of Winchendon is established by the records. These unpretentious inns were beacons in the wilderness, and the glow of their light at evening welcomed the approaching traveller. Over this primitive road the early settlers, and soldiers ordered to the frontiers, wended their way through the forest, fording streams and counting the milestones on their laborious journey.

To present even in outline an account of the settlement of Earlington would extend this paper beyond a proper limit, and my theme only contemplates the mention of some of the Lunenburg men that were here engaged. Chief among these was Col. Josiah Willard, a son of Henry and Dorcas (Cutler) Willard, and a grandson of the renowned Major Simon Willard. He was born in Lancaster between the beginning of the year 1693 and the close of the year 1695: the exact date is not known. The author of the Willard Memoir states his age at his decease, but he reckons from an assumed date of birth. He married, in Lancaster, Hannah Wilder, the daughter of an equally distinguished family, and removed to Lunenburg in 1723, or the following year. In the annals of Lunenburg his name is conspicuous. He was a controlling spirit in the affairs of the settlement, and in the act of incorporation he was designated by the general court to call the first meeting, at which he was chosen a selectman. He was reëlected nearly every year while he remained a citizen of the town, was early commissioned a justice of the peace, and for several years was the only magistrate in the exterior of Lancaster and Groton. In military affairs he was equally prominent. He was a captain previous to his removal from his native town, and was styled colonel after 1731. He was frequently in command of scouting parties, and in this service he became familiar with the Province land in the vicinity of Fort Dummer, which in early times was often styled the "truck house." In the valley of the Ashuelot he obtained for himself and his associates a township possessing many natural advantages. From the date of the charter, Col. Willard was much employed in forwarding the settlement, and thither with his numerous family he removed in 1737. At this time Josiah Willard, Jr., the eldest son, was married. Nathan was 11, Oliver 7, Samson, who was drowned Dec. 15, 1739, was 5, and Wilder, the youngest son, was 2 years of age. The same year the eldest daughter was married to Thomas Prentice, Esq., of Lunenburg. She was the only member of the family who did not remove to Earlington. Susannah, the second daughter, and the future wife of Valentine Butler, was 14, and Prudence, in whom

William Willard found a dutiful consort, was nearly 10. This was an important addition to the infant colony. Other families from Lunenburg, and a considerable number from other places, from year to year were invited to the prosperous settlement. Suddenly the French and Indian War cast its deepening shadows over the frontiers. After eight years of hardship, yet crowned with many triumphs, the settlement for a season was abandoned. The family of Col. Willard, attended by the wives and children of the settlement, returned to Lunenburg. He and many of his associates found employment in the service. For a considerable time Col. Willard was commandant at Fort Dummer, and frequently all the soldiers at the fort, including the chaplain, were men immediately or originally from Lunenburg. Before the return of peace and the rehabilitation of his beloved colony, leaving his mantle to his able and brilliant son who bore his name, our hero, whose foe was the wilderness and whose triumphs spread the verdure of tillage over a wide domain of forest, found in death his only rest from labor. He died Dec. 8, 1750.¹

Another prominent actor in the settlement of Earlington was Rev. Andrew Gardner. He was born in Brookline in 1694. His father was Rev. Andrew Gardner, the third minister of Lancaster, who began his ministry in that town in 1701, and was accidentally killed during an Indian alarm in the autumn of 1704. His mother was Mary (Swan) Gardner, formerly a resident of Roxbury, and subsequently the wife of Rev. John Prentice, the successor of Mr. Gardner at Lancaster. A daughter of her second marriage was the mother of Rev. John Cushing, D. D., of Ashburnham. Rev. Andrew Gardner, Jr., was graduated at Harvard University in 1712, was ordained the first minister at Worcester in the autumn of 1719, and dismissed Oct.

¹ It is currently stated that Col. Willard died "while on a journey from home." Without information of the direction and distance travelled before death overtook our hero, the statement does not locate the sad event. Since this paper was read before the Society, I have learned that in a cemetery in Dunstable, and next the grave of Gen. Joseph Blanchard, his honored associate in life, is found a headstone inscribed,—

"Here lyes interred ye body of Josiah Willard, Captain of Fort Dummer, formerly of Lancaster, Lunenburg, and Winchester and Colonel of Regiment of foot, who died here December ye 8 Anno Domini 1750 in ye 58 year of his age."

3, 1722. After preaching a short time at Rutland, he was settled over the church at Lunenburg from May 15, 1728, to Nov. 3, 1732. He remained in Lunenburg, teaching school a part of the time, until 1737, when he removed to Earlington. He was active in land speculation, and his name frequently appears among the grantors and grantees in the registry of deeds. He remained in Earlington until the settlement was temporarily abandoned, and was frequently chosen to positions of trust. At the meeting of the proprietors in 1745, immediately preceding the hiatus in the records, he was chosen moderator, clerk, and a selectman. During the war he was at times chaplain at Fort Dummer, and in 1749 and 1750 his name is found on the roll of Capt. Stevens's company. Through the obscurity of the early records he next appears at Charlestown. He was one of the proprietors under the New Hampshire charter of that town, and was living there in 1754. In 1761, in his pursuit of a life on the frontiers, he appears among the grantees at Bath, and thither he removed about 1765. He lived between the central and the upper village, and towering above the scene of his declining years Gardner mountain still perpetuates his name and memory.

It has been alleged that our martial parson was fond of field sports, and at all times did not easily assume that grave demeanor and solemn bearing that were becoming to the minister of the olden time. That he was somewhat eccentric cannot be successfully denied, but that he was a man of force and energy, of ability and character, is reflected in his career and established in the records. In his love for adventure he accepted the call of the wilderness, and in his active ministrations he opened new fields for his more methodical brethren.

He married, in Rutland, Susannah (Lynde) Willard, widow of Rev. Joseph Willard, who was slain by the Indians, Aug. 23, 1723. By her first marriage she had two sons, William and Joseph Willard. The elder, as formerly stated, married a daughter of Col. Willard, and was a resident of Earlington. Subsequently he lived in Vermont, and was prominent in the jurisdictional controversy which vexed the adjoining states. Joseph, the other son, resided in Charlestown. Of the four or

more children of Rev. Andrew Gardner, I have secured but little information. His son Andrew Gardner, Jr., lived some years, at least, in Charlestown.

In an attendance upon our migratory parson in his circuit up the valley of the Connecticut, I have been diverted from Lunenburg and Earlington. The other Lunenburg men among the grantees of Earlington were Col. Benjamin Bellows, subsequently the founder of Walpole, Capt. Ephraim Wetherbee, and Samuel and Stephen Farnsworth who will appear again at Charlestown. While Major Jonathan Hubbard, Isaac Farnsworth, Noah Dodge, Dea. Ephraim Pierce, William Jones, Nathan Heywood, Major Edward Hartwell, and his sons, Edward, Jr., and Asahel, and John Heywood, were prominent in the affairs of the proprietors, and were zealous in forwarding the settlement, they did not become residents of the colony. Two other grantees, James Jewell and Ephraim Wheeler, were only temporary residents of Lunenburg.

As early as 1753 the rehabilitation of Winchester had fairly begun. The boundaries were amended by the New Hampshire charter, and the former names of Earlington and Arlington were cast in the treasury of its early memories. In the record of suspended animation, we have recorded the death of Col. Willard, the paternal guardian of the settlement, and the permanent removal of Rev. Andrew Gardner. The settlement at Walpole is engaging the tireless energies of Col. Bellows, and many of our worthies are retired by age, or have found homes in other places. Almost without exception, the sons and relatives of Col. Willard are the only representatives of Lunenburg in the rejuvenated settlement at Winchester.

Col. Josiah Willard, son of Col. Josiah and Hannah (Wilder) Willard, was born at Lancaster, Jan. 21, 1715-16, and resided in Lunenburg from 1723 to 1737. Before he had completed his seventeenth year, Nov. 23, 1732, he married Hannah Hubbard, of Lunenburg. His eldest son, Major Josiah Willard, born at Lunenburg, Sept. 22, 1734, was the first register of deeds of Cheshire county. During the French and Indian War, while many fled within the defences of the fortified towns, he remained in the service upon the frontiers. The record of his

valiant service is a part of the history of New Hampshire. At the death of his honored father, he was commissioned lieutenant colonel, and made commandant at Fort Dummer. Subsequently, by the governor of New Hampshire, he was commissioned colonel, and continued in command of a regiment of militia until he was succeeded by Col. Ashley immediately preceding the Revolution. He died in Winchester, Nov. 19, 1786. The provincial and state papers, now easily accessible, afford considerable information of the career of this able and distinguished man. The other sons of Col. Josiah Willard, senior, served continuously in the war, and their names are often met in the military rolls that have been preserved. They were men of ability, and worthy representatives of a distinguished family. Nathan Willard, the second son, born May 28, 1726, was a captain, and while his brother, Josiah, was in command of a regiment at Fort Edward in 1755, he was commandant at Fort Dummer. He subsequently lived in Hinsdale, and for some years was proprietor of a ferry on the Connecticut river. Oliver Willard, born March 6, 1729-30, after a residence of several years in Winchester, removed to Vermont. In the Vermont controversy he espoused the cause of New York, and was appointed a judge of Cumberland county. Wilder Willard, the youngest son, lived in Winchester, and died at the age of 42 years.

During these years of an intimate and maternal relation between Lunenburg and Winchester, and in a measure encouraged and stimulated by it, the attention of many influential and enterprising men of our mother town was directed to Charlestown. Saunderson's history of that town faithfully records the details, and firmly establishes the fact. In this reference to that work I am citing many names and a continued record of events that assert the care and influence of Lunenburg over the settlement. Little remains to be added to the published record except to call attention to the names of Capt. Ephraim Wetherbee, Capt. Jonathan Hubbard, Capt. Moses Willard, Capt. James Johnson, Capts. John and Bradstreet Spofford, Dr. David Taylor, John Dunsmoor, Peter Bellows, Israel Gibson, Dean Carlton, the Grants, the Farnsworths, and the Pages, and

later the able and learned Edmund L. Cushing, whose life has demonstrated that after the lapse of years the blood of the ancestral town has suffered no degeneration. Of a few of these, I can briefly supplement the published record. Capt. Ephraim Wetherbee was an early settler in Lunenburg, and exercised a commanding influence over the fortunes of that town. He was a selectman several years, and was honorably and repeatedly named in the records. For several years preceding his death he devoted a considerable share of his time to the affairs of Charlestown, of which he was an original proprietor. He frequently tarried at the settlement, but he did not remove his family thither. They remained in Lunenburg a few years after his death. He was a man of ability and tireless energy, and, while he lived, the best interests of the town of Lunenburg and of the settlement at Charlestown were ably promoted.

He was twice married. His first wife, Elizabeth, died June 17, 1732, leaving two or three children. Mary, who married Ephraim Kimball, was born Jan. 6, 1730; Bette was born May 15, 1732, and Paul Wetherbee, born in 1726, the father of Joab Wetherbee, of Chesterfield, was probably their son, but his birth was not recorded. Capt. Wetherbee married (2), Sept. 18, 1732, Joanna Bellows, a sister of Col. Benjamin Bellows. He died suddenly at Boston, Nov. 7, 1745. In 1754, the widow and her seven children born in Lunenburg removed to Charlestown. The history of that town continues the record, and demonstrates that the good influence of the parents has been renewed in their descendants.

Capt. Jonathan Hubbard, son of Major Jonathan and Rebecca (Brown) Hubbard, was born in Concord in 1719. Major Jonathan, the father, was a man of considerable distinction. He was an innholder for some years at Concord, and removed to Groton about 1721, and to Lunenburg in 1731, or the following year. He was a major and a deacon, and both titles were merited by good service in the respective callings. While he lived in Lunenburg, no man was more frequently or highly honored by his townsmen. In 1756, and after the death of his wife, he removed to Townsend, where he died April 7, 1761. His son, Capt. Jonathan Hubbard, married, Sept. 24, 1739,

Abigail Jennison, born in Watertown, April 22, 1715, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Stearns) Jennison. For some years he appears to have maintained a dual residence at Lunenburg and Charlestown, but removed with his family and permanently settled in Charlestown in 1757. His descendants are numerous, and have been called to many positions of trust.

In the attempt to establish a settlement at Walpole under the Massachusetts charter, the people of Lunenburg were not engaged. The mention of a leader in the happy and successful issue of the New Hampshire charter, a born ruler of men, a chieftain among the frontiers, has been too long deferred. Col. Benjamin Bellows was a power in the Lunenburg syndicate, and the firm supporter of all its ambitious schemes. He was the trusted associate of Col. Josiah Willard, senior, both in the settlement of Earlington and in the construction of the highway to the vicinity of this grant, but he remained a resident of Lunenburg almost twenty years after his first interest in the Province land. His name is associated with the early history of many towns, and, as surveyor or a proprietor, his familiar relations and pecuniary interest extended over a considerable part of Cheshire county. Walpole was chartered Feb. 13, 1752. Col. Bellows was one of the grantees, and by purchase he soon acquired a controlling interest in the grant. He has been aptly termed the founder of the town, and his influence was not limited to Walpole. His public service constitutes a chapter in the history of the state, and has been ably set forth in a memorial sketch by a loyal descendant, Rev. Dr. Henry W. Bellows, from which I quote a single paragraph: "In person Col. Bellows was tall and stout, not to say immense. His weight was about 330 pounds. A man of great amiability and true benevolence, with a natural suavity and courtliness of manner that procured for him the title of one of nature's gentlemen, honest as he was energetic, rare in judgment, of great self-possession under trying emergencies, strong in body and mind, unbounded in hospitality, and sagacious and prophetic in plans, Col. Bellows was the large and pure fountain of a numerous and distinguished race."

His father was Benjamin Bellows, who removed with his

family to Lunenburg in 1730, where he died in 1743. His mother was Dorcas Cutler, who married Henry Willard, and was the mother of Col. Josiah Willard, senior. By her subsequent marriage to Benjamin Bellows, the youngest child and only son was Col. Bellows, born in Lancaster, May 26, 1712. He married, in Lunenburg, Oct. 7, 1735, Abigail Stearns, a sister of Rev. David Stearns, of Lunenburg. She died in Walpole, Nov. 8, 1757; he married (2), April 21, 1758, Mary (Hubbard) Jennison, a daughter of Major Jonathan and Rebecca (Brown) Hubbard, and widow of John Jennison. He died July 10, 1777. Four sons were children of the first and three of the second marriage,—Peter who settled in Charlestown, Gen. Benjamin of Revolutionary fame, John distinguished in the councils of the state, and Joseph, Theodore, Thomas, and Josiah—each inheriting a full measure of ability, and fully sustaining a lofty type of character which distinguished the race.

From her most cultured and enterprising sons the continued contribution of Lunenburg to Cheshire county was selected. Thomas Sparhawk, a graduate of Harvard University, 1715, married a daughter of Rev. David Stearns. Three of their eight children were born in Lunenburg. In 1769 he removed to Walpole, and subsequently was a judge of probate and occupied many positions of trust. John Hubbard, a son of Major Jonathan Hubbard, married a daughter of Samuel Johnson, who was a grantee of several townships in Cheshire county, and early removed to Walpole. His son, Rev. John Hubbard, was a judge of probate, and a member of the faculty of Dartmouth college.

In support of the premises, I have cited at length only a few examples. Others merit, and if time permitted, would receive, a more extended notice. *Ab uno disce omnes*. It must not be presumed that the record is exhausted. The history of many other towns in the county furnishes continued testimony, and the annals are enriched by the good works of the representatives of our ancestral town. Fifteen of the grantees of Rindge were residents of Lunenburg, and a large part of the population are the kindred of those named in these pages. The charter of

Chesterfield bears the names of twelve Willards. Six of these have been named, and the others were the second generation of the same families. Other grantees of this town were Joanna (Bellows) Wetherbee, the widow of Capt. Ephraim Wetherbee, William Downe, Moses Gould, Jonathan Hubbard, David Hubbard, and Samuel Kennedy; while Joab Wetherbee, Samuel Davis, John Darling, and William Henry were early residents. To the settlement at Fitzwilliam were contributed Gen. James Reed of the Revolution,¹ Phineas Hutchins, Francis Fullam, Joseph Foster, Josiah Hartwell, David Lowe, and Samuel Kilpatrick. Col. Ebenezer Bridge of Westmoreland, the Fitch family residing in several places, the Bowers family of Acworth, the Gilchrists of Dublin, the Stanley, Litch, Grout, Pierce, Whitney, and other families of Jaffrey, and a smaller number of representatives in Marlborough, Keene, Stoddard, Hinsdale, and Swanzey, are the units of a cumulative record.

In the midst of these voluntary and continued offerings to Cheshire county, the heart of the mother town was saddened with frequent intelligence, from the settlements, of the massacre or the captivity of many of her sons and daughters. The details of the incursions by the Indians upon the frontiers are carefully and minutely collated in the local histories, and from them I have copied the names only of the members of Lunenburg families. In 1746, at Charlestown, Capt. John Spofford and Stephen Farnsworth were carried into captivity, and Samuel Farnsworth was killed. Again, at Charlestown, in 1754, Capt. James Johnson, his wife and three children, and Miriam Willard, a sister of Mrs. Johnson, were captured. At Hinsdale, in 1755, Hilkiah Grout escaped an ambush, but his wife and three children were less fortunate. The following year

¹ Several excellent sketches of Gen. James Reed are in print. Some of the writers have erroneously stated that he resided in Fitchburg previous to a residence in Fitzwilliam. Gen. Reed settled in Lunenburg and within the limits of the present town at an early age. He was taxed in Lunenburg in 1745 and 1746. After a residence of three years in Brookfield, he returned to Lunenburg, and was an innholder at the centre of the town. He was a selectman in 1763 and 1764. He was taxed continuously in Lunenburg from 1745 to 1764, inclusive, except the years 1747-1749. He removed to Fitzwilliam in 1765. Late in life he lived a few years in Fitchburg, where he died Feb. 13, 1807. It will be noted that he was elected a selectman of Lunenburg after Fitchburg was incorporated.

Moses Willard was slain at Charlestown, and his son wounded. In 1757, Asa Spofford, who died in captivity, a son of Capt. John Spofford, and David Farnsworth were captured at Charlestown. The record ends in 1760, when Joseph Willard, stepson of Rev. Andrew Gardner, his wife and five children, were captured at Charlestown, and an infant child was cruelly slain.

At all times, and at every point, the energies of our ancestral town have been faithful and steadfast to her New Hampshire mission. The first settler of Lunenburg was Samuel Page. He was living with his family on the Province land when the original grant was made. His son, Nathaniel Page, was an influential citizen of Rindge. John Page, a son of Nathaniel, removed from Rindge to Coös Meadows in 1762. His son, John Page, born in Haverhill, May 21, 1787, was three years governor of New Hampshire. William Henry, a son of George and Elizabeth (Kennedy) Henry, born in Lunenburg, Jan. 22, 1747, married, Dec. 4, 1770, Mary Conn, of Scotch-Irish parentage, and settled in Chesterfield. Their daughter Eunice married John Haile, and was the honored mother of Governor William Haile. Governor Samuel W. Hale was born upon the soil, being a native of Fitchburg, a part of our ancient and prolific Lunenburg. The faithful follower of Romeo, when pierced by the rapier of Tybalt, made broad assertion of what his wound was not. Cheshire county was rapidly settled, and liberal draft was made upon the population of many places. The immigration was not all from Lunenburg, but, like the wound of Mercutio, "'T is enough, 't will serve."

A paper was read by Isaac W. Hammond, Esq.

NEW HAMPSHIRE UNDER THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

The centennial anniversary of the framing of the constitution of the United States has recently been celebrated in the city of Philadelphia. The adoption of that instrument as the fundamental law of our country has justly been considered the most important event in the history of the American people, and under its wise provisions such progress has been made in this

country as the world never before witnessed. The immense progressive changes in all that tends to strengthen and perfect a people's government may be learned from the history of the important events which have transpired in our nation since the promulgation of that constitution. Its provisions have guided all legislation and controlled our whole domestic and foreign policy, and have had an influence to a greater extent than is generally realized in shaping the policy of foreign countries and republicanizing the governments of the civilized world, and thus have wrought a greater work than we can easily comprehend.

I do not propose in this article to discuss national progress under the constitution, but to present some matters relative to progressive changes in New Hampshire. Neither time nor space will permit the production of an exhaustive article; and in order to enable us to realize to some extent the important and advantageous changes that have occurred in all branches of manufacturing industries during the last century, it seems proper to take some of the most notable of them and present them as they existed prior to 1787, as they existed at different periods during the century, and as they exist to-day. Some of these facts may be new to the present generation, and a knowledge of them may perhaps afford a better understanding of the superior advantages they possess as compared with their ancestors of one hundred years ago, and some knowledge of the privations and hardships which they endured and overcame.

First, we propose to sketch briefly the

CONSTITUTIONS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The first written constitution adopted by any of the United States was the one adopted by New Hampshire, January 5, 1776.

In October, 1775, the provincial congress of the "Colony of New Hampshire," realizing the need of some fundamental law upon which to base legislative proceedings, instructed their representatives in the continental congress to ask the advice of that body concerning the matter.

Said representatives, or delegates as they were then desig-

nated, presented the request, and on November 3, 1775, congress passed the following :

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Provincial Convention of New Hampshire to call a full and free Representation of the people, and that the Representatives, if they think it necessary, establish such a form of government as in their judgment will best produce the happiness of the people, and most effectually secure peace and good order in the province during the continuance of the present dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies.

There was no advice or intimation as to what the provisions of such a constitution, or "form of government," should be. The continental congress evidently believed that the people of New Hampshire were capable of providing for the exigencies of the occasion, and the result proved that their faith was well founded.

November 14, 1775, the New Hampshire congress resolved that a convention of representatives should be held at Exeter on the twenty-first day of the following month for the purpose of framing a constitution and transacting other necessary public business, and specified what towns and parishes should be represented. It was also specified "that every legal inhabitant paying taxes shall be a voter," and "that no person be allowed a seat in [that] Congress who shall by themselves or any person at their desire Treat with Liquors &c. any Electors with an apparent view of gaining their votes, or by Treating after an Election on that Account."

These specifications show a determination to have a constitutional convention composed of delegates elected for their fitness to do the work, and that no man should occupy a purchased seat in that body. According to the compiled list, if the towns and parishes were fully represented, that convention would have consisted of eighty-nine members. The delegates assembled at Exeter on the day selected, organized and proceeded with the business without delay. A committee of fifteen was appointed to "draw up a Plan for the Government of this Colony during the present contest with Great Britain." Said committee reported a code of fundamental laws, brief but

sufficient for the occasion, in language directly to the point; and on January 5, 1776, said code was adopted, and became the constitution of this state. It was regarded, however, as a temporary arrangement, to exist during the war; and in 1778, it becoming apparent that the war was not speedily to close, something more extended in its provisions was deemed necessary, and a convention was held in Concord commencing June 10, 1778, for the purpose of framing a permanent constitution for the future government of the state. The journal of that convention cannot be found, but it is known that on June 5, 1779, "A declaration of rights and plan of government" was passed by that body, directed to be printed and sent out to the people for their consideration, and was by them rejected.

Another unsuccessful attempt was made by a convention which met on the first Tuesday in June, 1781; and on the fourteenth day of September next following voted to have printed and sent to each town, for the people's consideration, a constitution they had formulated and agreed upon. The convention then adjourned to the fourth Wednesday in January, 1782, at which time it again convened, examined the returns of votes on the adoption of their work, and found that it was rejected. It met again in August, 1782, formulated another plan of government, submitted it as before, and with the same result. With commendable perseverance the delegates met in convention again in June, 1783, framed a third constitution, which was ratified by the people, and established by the convention at an adjourned session held October 31, 1783, to take effect on the first Wednesday in June, 1784.

By an examination of the foregoing data, we find that the form of government, or constitution, of January, 1776, although intended as a temporary code, answered the purpose of a fundamental law for more than eight years; and under it this state did its full share in raising and equipping men for service in the Revolutionary war, and made more progress in the common pursuits of life than could reasonably be expected of a people living in those stormy times.

Another convention, called to revise the constitution of the state, met September 7, 1791, made some important changes

which were ratified by the people, and finally dissolved September 5, 1792. No further change was made in the fundamental law of our state until 1877, although a convention was held in 1850 which proposed some alterations, but they were all rejected by the people.

INDUSTRIES.

At the time of the adoption of the Federal constitution, the citizens of New Hampshire, outside of Portsmouth and vicinity, were engaged almost entirely in agricultural pursuits. Merchants in Portsmouth, Dover, and Exeter carried on a somewhat extensive trade with the West India Islands, in vessels built on the Piscataqua and at Exeter, shipping shooks and hoops for molasses and rum hogsheads, and any other lumber that could be marketed in those islands, receiving their pay in sugar, molasses, and rum, with which they supplied the people at a profit which made them wealthy. They also exported masts and other ship timber to England, and exchanged the same for tea, household furniture, and other goods not then manufactured in this country. New Castle and Gosport were engaged in catching and curing fish for domestic and foreign markets—a business now nearly extinct in both of those places, being superseded by the less hazardous and more profitable one of entertaining summer visitors.

In 1787, no fabrics were manufactured in this state except such as were made on hand and foot power machines in the houses of the farmers, by their wives and daughters. In that slow and tiresome way they manufactured cloth from wool for the winter wear of both sexes, and from flax for summer wear and for table and bed linen. A small surplus of linen cloth and thread had been made in Londonderry, which found a market beyond the limits of the state. A few woollen hats were also made in that town.

Cutlery, crockery, and utensils for culinary purposes came largely from England, and were somewhat expensive compared with their cost at present. It was not uncommon to find wooden spoons, plates, and gallon bottles in the houses of

the farmers, which were manufactured by hand in the long winter evenings before their open log fires.

Later on, carding mills were erected on small streams, in which one machine converted the wool of the neighboring farmers into rolls for the housewife, who still spun and wove by hand the cloth for the family wear. In those times the people generally were pecuniarily poor, but they were industrious, frugal, and enterprising, and their children inherited those qualities and not much else. But as the population increased and property was accumulated the water-powers of the state were utilized, saw and grist mills were built, and still later the large manufactories; and to-day our cotton and woollen cloths, prints, carriages, locomotive engines, cars, paper, harnesses, cutlery, etc., are known and in demand all over the world. We have also extensive foundries, and our car wheels, stove and various other castings are in demand wherever such products are used. We manufacture large quantities of shoes, belting, furniture, leather hose, wood-pulp, granite monuments from our native rock, and many other articles which find a market beyond our borders. These industries give employment to our people, and furnish the means with which we purchase from the West the agricultural products our forefathers produced in abundance on their rocky soil. In fact, instead of depending for our means of subsistence upon the products of the soil, as did our ancestors of 1787, we depend largely upon the products of our manufactories. And this leads us to write of another matter, without which our manufacturing establishments could not exist, and that is the great progress that has been made in methods of

TRANSPORTATION.

In 1787, people in this state travelled mostly on foot or on horseback; carriages of any kind were scarce; goods were transported in ox-carts in summer and on sleds in winter. The goodman saddled his horse, took his wife on a pillion behind him, and went miles to church, with the barefooted children following. And thus at long intervals they visited their friends, often taking food in their saddle-bags to save

expense. When meal was wanted for the good old "rye-and-Indian bread," a bag with rye in one end and corn in the other was hung over the back of the horse, a boy placed on top of the bag, and sent anywhere from three to ten miles to mill. But a change came. Better facilities for transportation became a necessity. With the acquisition of wagons for the transportation of merchandise, and of carriages and stages for carrying passengers, came the turnpike road with its toll-gate and the toll-bridge, over which at certain seasons long lines of teams wended their way from the interior farms with country produce to the seaboard markets, there to be exchanged for groceries and other family necessities, and perhaps for a few luxuries and a little hard money.

Increased production of farm produce and the prospective establishment of manufactories required still better means of transportation. Stage lines were established, with four or six horses to a coach, carrying passengers from the more populous interior towns to the great markets of those days. A system of canals was projected, which, had it been carried out, would have formed three lines from tide-water to the northern part of the state,—connecting the Merrimack river with the Connecticut, Cocheco, and Piscataqua rivers. Only one line was constructed, and that was on the Merrimack river from East Concord to Lowell, Mass., there connecting with the Middlesex canal. By that boats ran from tide-water to the capital of the state, which thus became a distributing station for many towns in its vicinity. Among other canals chartered by the legislature were the following: One from Merrimack river, *via* Sunapee lake and Sugar river, to Connecticut river; one from Concord to Sanbornton, to connect at Winnepesaukee lake with the New Hampshire Canal and Steamboat Company, which company was chartered to run steamboats on the lake; to construct a canal from the lake to tide-water in Cocheco river at Dover; also to construct one from the lake through Great and Little Squam ponds to Plymouth, thence up Pemigewasset and Baker's rivers through the town of Wentworth to Connecticut river; one from Hinsdale up Connecticut river to Lancaster,—and many others.

In 1835 railroads came, and canal schemes were abandoned. It is impossible to realize the vast importance which railroad transportation has been to this state. People look upon it as a matter of course, and do not stop to consider the effect it has had in developing our resources. In consequence of their construction our water-powers are largely occupied; manufactories have been built upon our streams, around which populous cities and towns have grown up, giving honest and remunerative employment to thousands of people, making a market for the lumber, wood, milk, and general products of the farm, and for the labor of the architect and the builder. It has opened to the summer tourist seeking health, recreation, and pleasure, our mountain and lake region, which as a natural sanitarium is unsurpassed on this continent.

Portions of our state, which before their advent were heavily timbered wildernesses, are now thriving communities. The old timber has been to some extent cut off, manufactured, and sold, and the proceeds thereof invested in more comfortable farm buildings, improved stock, better cultivated brains, churches, schools, libraries, and the comfortable sum of sixty millions of dollars deposited in our savings-banks, while a considerable portion of the land is left to bear another crop of timber for the use of our successors. To mention all the advantages accruing from railroad transportation is impossible: one of paramount importance is the great improvement in our

MAIL SERVICE.

One hundred years ago all the mail service that existed in this state was performed by men on horseback, called post-riders, who carried the mails in saddle-bags. Post-offices were scarce, and confined to a few of the largest towns. Within seventy-five years a large portion of our towns had no post-offices, and their residents were obliged to get their letters from the nearest large town, which had a mail perhaps once a week. Most of those towns now have a daily mail, and many have two or three post-offices within their borders. A post route existed between Portsmouth and Boston as early as 1692, connecting at the last named place with a route thence through

New York to Virginia. Mails arrived at Portsmouth once a week. From 1695 to 1698, the province of New Hampshire paid £12 per year as a subsidy to Andrew Hamilton, "Deputy Post Master General for his Majesty's Colonies and Isles of North America." In 1781 a post route was established, by authority of the legislature of this state, from Portsmouth, *via* Exeter, Chester, Concord, and Plymouth, to Haverhill; thence down the Connecticut river through Hanover, Lebanon, and Walpole, to Keene; thence, *via* Amherst, etc., to Portsmouth, the mail being conveyed on horseback over the route once in two weeks. In 1790 Concord had a mail from Boston once a week, *via* Exeter. There are now six mails a day between those cities by which letters reach Concord in three hours after they are mailed in Boston. The telegraph and telephone have annihilated space so far as communication is concerned, and men one hundred miles apart converse with each other as readily as our ancestors conversed with their next door neighbors.

As much progress has been made in education during the last century as in any other matter. In 1787 schools where even the rudiments of an education could be obtained were few and far between. Dartmouth college was in its infancy. Phillips Academy, Exeter, was in existence, and beginning a good work. Free public schools were in operation to some extent; but teachers of them would hardly pass a successful examination in our intermediate schools of to-day. Text-books were scarce, as were all other books, and manuscript leaves were used to some extent in teaching mathematics. Governor John Wentworth appreciated the advantages of educating the people in general, and in each township by him granted one lot was set apart "for the benefit of a school in said town forever." These lots were the nucleus of our common schools—the foundation upon which they were built—and being in public favor, they grew rapidly in number and efficiency; interest in education increased; libraries were established in many towns; and, later, academies sprung into existence all over the state, in which better teachers were employed, and girls and boys could obtain instruction in higher branches. Those academies had their day, and many of them have passed

out of existence ; but they accomplished more in awakening the people to the advantages of a higher culture than they are generally credited with. Some of them still remain, and are doing good work, which is patent to all observers in the culture of our young men and women.

Our college has grown to be one of the best in the land, and no better preparatory institutions exist than Phillips Academy at Exeter (more than one hundred years old) and St. Paul's School at Concord, both being known and celebrated throughout the United States.

One hundred years ago the man in any of our country towns who could read intelligently, write fairly, and who understood the common rules of mathematics, was reputed an educated man ; he was made a justice of the peace, and did most of the town business. Now, nearly all our boys and girls of fifteen years can do as much or more. This leads to another product of New Hampshire, for which the state is justly celebrated, and of which she has reason to be proud, and that is,

THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE GONE FROM US TO TAKE
LEADING POSITIONS IN OTHER STATES.

Our ancestors were a sturdy and self-reliant people. What they could not produce, or obtain in honest exchange, they went without. They were mostly English, Scotch, and Irish, inured to hardships and privations. They encountered and overcame more trials than we can realize in their successful endeavors to establish homes in the wilderness, maintain liberty of conscience, and institute a government "for the people and by the people." The same spirit was transmitted to their children. They were born and reared on the rocky soil of our Granite State. In early youth they learned the lesson of self-reliance. Their education was gained from the few books at their command, in the long winter evenings, by the firelight in their humble homes, or in the village workshop. Arriving at manhood, many have gone to wider fields, taken leading positions in almost every state in the Union, and, by their honest industry, sterling integrity, and brains, acquired places of

honor and trust which are creditable alike to themselves, their ancestors, and the state of their birth.

By virtue of these grand qualities—frugality, perseverance, and self-reliance—inherited from their sturdy ancestors, nurtured in the little red school-houses and at the farmers' fire-sides, some of our New Hampshire men have taken positions second to none, and have had prominent parts in shaping the governments of states and the nation. Our women have been and are known in high ranks in the world of literature, in teachers' desks, and as honest Christian mothers—the highest and most honorable position of woman.

We may well be proud of our men and women who have left us to fight the battle of life in wider fields, and who, when weary with the cares of busy lives, come back to breathe the pure air of their native state as a panacea for all their ills.

And this leads to a consideration of

NEW HAMPSHIRE AS A GREAT SANITARIUM.

Twenty-five years ago our mountain and lakeside hotel business was in its infancy. A few summer hotels existed among the mountains, but were accessible only by long stage rides, which, although romantic and pleasing, were tiresome, and the number of tourists who sought them were few. Those who came from hot, dusty cities, and spent a portion of the summer under the shadow of Mt. Washington, or on the shore of Winnepesaukee, returned in early autumn to their pursuits with improved health, clear, vigorous brains, and gave glowing accounts of the beauty and grandeur of the scenery, the health-renewing qualities of the mountain air, and the luxuries of the tables supplied with provisions fresh from country farms and trout from the clear mountain brooks.

In consequence of that, and the extension of railroads through the mountain region, the business has rapidly increased, a large number of hotels have been erected, and many have been enlarged from year to year to accommodate the increasing number of guests. The past season has been one of the most successful in the history of the business. Thousands of guests have

been entertained at our mountain and lakeside hotels, and have left more than a million dollars in payment therefor. Probably one half as many more have been accommodated at our sea-coast hotels, in summer boarding-houses, and in farm-houses all over the state; and it is estimated that the aggregate amount of income from this source is not much less than two millions of dollars. Let the pleasure-seeker, the weary brain, and the invalid continue to come. It is good for them and good for us: we furnish them the panacea of our great natural sanitarium; they furnish us means of procuring more comfortable homes, and a better education for our boys and girls.

We convey them comfortably and safely to the summit of Mt. Washington by railway; we furnish them railroad excursions through Crawford Notch, with surrounding scenery that cannot be excelled for magnificence and grandeur this side of the Rocky Mountains, and boat rides by daylight and by moonlight on the bosom of the loveliest lakes in the country. We will welcome them in the future as in the past.

A FEW WORDS RELATIVE TO THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

Prior to 1787 the thirteen states were united, to a certain extent, by articles of confederation.

There was no fundamental law of the Union upon which the legislation of the several states must be based; consequently, laws of some of the states conflicted with those of others. Laws enacted by the continental congress could not be enforced upon any state without its consent. In fact, while it was a union in some respects, it was not a *unity* in any sense except concert of action in case of a foreign war. The articles of confederation which held them together during the contest for independence, when they must "hang together or hang separately," when their very existence depended upon united action, proved to be "a rope of sand" when the war closed and the object which bound them together had been accomplished.

Wise statesmen saw that the only hope for the existence and future welfare of the republic was the adoption of some compact by which the several states should be firmly bound to-

gether as one *nation*, and the erection of a general government which should be supreme over all, and in which all should be represented; that the states could have no national existence without some fundamental laws upon which all legislation, both state and national, should be based, and to which all should be subordinate.

They placed the matter before the people, caused a convention to be held, and finally secured the adoption of the Federal Constitution, by which the United States was changed from a mere confederation of independent states to a great nation, which has grown to be in many respects second to none on the face of the globe. That constitution, the production of the greatest statesmen of their age, has proved to be a rope so strong as to resist the force of one of the greatest rebellions the world ever witnessed without the breaking of a single strand. And I believe the day is not far distant when the people of this Nation will be more harmoniously united than ever before, under and by virtue of the provisions of that grand compact.

Under the Federal Constitution New Hampshire has grown and prospered. By its provisions she has abided, and for its maintenance she has given the blood of her bravest men and the tears of her noblest women; and because of what her sons helped, to the full extent of her share, in doing, our national constitution remains unbroken, and these several states are, and will continue to be, an undivided and inseparable *Nation*, over which, now and for all time, *there shall float but one flag*.

On motion of Mr. J. B. Walker, the thanks of the Society were extended to Messrs. Stearns and Hammond, and copies of their productions were requested for publication in the Proceedings of the Society.

The Society then adjourned to meet again at the call of the president.

AMOS HADLEY,
Recording Secretary.

FIRST ADJOURNED ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, Monday, September 16, 1889.

The first adjourned sixty-seventh annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held at the Society's rooms this day, at 11 o'clock A. M., the president, Hon. Samuel C. Eastman, in the chair.

The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

On motion of Mr. J. B. Walker, the standing committee was directed to ascertain the boundaries of the Society's lot, and erect permanent bounds, or a fence, about the same, at their discretion.

On motion of Prof. Isaac Walker, it was voted that Hon. Charles H. Bell be authorized and requested to take steps necessary to procure the "Sullivan papers" from the estate of the late Thomas C. Amory, of Boston.

A committee, consisting of Messrs. J. Everett Sargent, Howard L. Porter, and Isaac Walker, was appointed to arrange exercises and select speakers for the adjourned annual meetings to be held during the coming winter.

Dr. B. S. Warren presented the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the library be kept open every week day from 9:30 A. M. to 12:30 P. M., and from 1:30 to 4:30 P. M. except on Saturday afternoons, and that the librarian be at liberty to devote his time to other matters during those hours, except on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday; and that he be paid at the rate of \$500 per annum from and after this day.

Mr. I. W. Hammond, from the Committee on New Members, nominated the following persons, who were elected, by the requisite constitutional majority, members of the Society.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

John Ballard, Concord; Mrs. Anne E. Baer, Salmon Falls.

The Society then adjourned, to meet again at the call of the president.

AMOS HADLEY,
Recording Secretary.

SECOND ADJOURNED ANNUAL MEETING.

DURHAM, Thursday, October 10, 1889.

In accordance with the call of the president, the second adjourned sixty-seventh annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held this day at Durham, the occasion being the annual field day.

Members of the Society, with invited guests, arriving by morning trains and otherwise, assembled in the Public Library building, whither they had been conducted by a citizens' committee of reception, Hon. Lucien Thompson, chairman. The president being absent, Hon. John J. Bell, one of the vice-presidents, presided. Welcome was extended by Hon. Joshua B. Smith, and acknowledged by the chair.

A part of the rainy forenoon was spent by a portion of the excursionists in visiting the site of Piscataqua bridge, in the vicinity of which a settlement, incorporated in 1796 under the name of Franklin City, was once planned. At 1 P. M. the visitors partook of an excellent dinner, served in the Congregational vestry by the ladies of Durham. In the brief business meeting which followed, Vice-President Bell in the chair, Hon. L. D. Stevens moved a resolution of thanks to the people of the town for their great courtesy and hospitality, which was enthusiastically adopted.

Mr. I. W. Hammond, from the Committee on New Members, nominated the following persons, who were elected by the constitutional majority :

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Charles Robert Morrison, Mrs. Harriet Newell Eaton, Charles Eastman Staniels, John E. Fry—all of Concord.

The Society adjourned to meet at the call of the president.

The weather having cleared, the visitors were taken in carriages to many localities of historic interest, prominent among which were the house and grave of Gen. John Sullivan. Thus passed pleasantly and profitably the fifth field day of the Society.

AMOS HADLEY,

Recording Secretary.

THIRD ADJOURNED ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, Tuesday, February 25, 1890.

The third adjourned sixty-seventh annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held, on call of the president, this day, at 7 : 30 o'clock P. M., in the hall of the Grand Army of the Republic, the president in the chair. The meeting was the first of three arranged by the special committee appointed September 16, 1889, for that purpose.

The president, having alluded in appropriate terms to the recent death of Hon. J. E. Sargent, chairman of the committee, introduced Hon. John C. Linehan, who addressed the meeting, his subject being "The Gettysburg Battlefield."

On motion of Mr. J. B. Walker, the thanks of the Society were tendered the speaker.

The Society then adjourned to meet again at the same place on the third of March, *proximo*, at 7 : 30 o'clock P. M.

AMOS HADLEY,

Recording Secretary.

FOURTH ADJOURNED ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, Monday, March 3, 1890.

The fourth adjourned sixty-seventh annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held at the Grand Army hall this day, at 7 : 30 o'clock P. M., the president in the chair.

Hon. Charles R. Corning delivered an address on "An Exploit in King William's War, 1697 : Hannah Dustan."

MR. CORNING'S ADDRESS.

Two centuries ago a mighty history was making on both continents. On the older, absolute monarchy dominated the people ; on the newer, a severe toleration in religious and civic affairs characterized the virgin settlements. The auguries of palace courtiers were fast proving false, and it was at this period that the kingly horoscope caught its last stars. Verily,

the day of judgment was at hand, and kings knew it not. Across the turbulent Atlantic old Europe had planted her vanguard. There was scarcely a kingdom or principality that had not flung its standard to the Western sky, and claimed sovereignty beneath its folds. England, France, Spain, and Holland were there, and those nations comprised the strongest and fairest parts of Europe. From their decree there was no appeal. But, fortunately for mankind, this powerful quartette never met at the same council board. The qualities that went to make it up came from widely diverse sources, and harmony was impossible. Ambition intensified a thousand fold these racial characteristics, and to this was added the subtle poison of religious hate, which, coursing strongly in the veins of the fathers, became no weaker in the blood of the sons. And so over the thousand leagues of boisterous waves were carried the hatred and prejudices of Europe. On the new continent as on the old, England and France were constantly involved in diplomatic misunderstandings, which threatened to break out in open war, thus keeping the settlers in solicitude and alarm. The air may be said to have been full of electricity, and the spark generated in Paris or London found quick response on the other side of the sea.

In sensuous repose amid the splendors of Versailles sat Louis XIV, or, as he was proud to be called, the Grand Monarch. Seemingly secure in revenue and arms, the king serenely contemplated his sun in its zenith. Fortune, fickle to so many crowns, had never deserted Louis. His name commanded obedience at council tables, and carried terror into camps. He was his own prime minister, and in the fullest meaning of the term was the state itself. Vainglorious and victorious, the king imagined that everything was possible for him. He was a restless prince, even when the rattle of battle and the pomp of war were no more, but true to nature he continued to make peace a period of conquest. His designs comprised the fairest part of the new world, and he early determined to acquire by arms the regions then inhabited by the English-speaking people. With a brief view of Versailles as it appeared during the last days of Bourbon imperialism, we may understand how

it came to pass that the French monarch might imagine that the world was his for conquest, and that no human opposition could stay his ambition. In this glowing picture of Parkman's we see it all: "Versailles gave no signs of waning glories. On three evenings of the week it was the pleasure of the king that the whole court should assemble in the vast suite of apartments now known as the Halls of Abundance, of Venus, of Diana, of Mars, of Mercury, and of Apollo. The magnificence of their decorations, pictures of the great Italian masters, sculptures, frescos, mosaics, tapestries, vases, and statues of silver and gold, the vista of light and splendor that opened through the wide portals, the courtly throngs, feasting, dancing, gaming, promenading, conversing, formed a scene which no palace of Europe could rival or approach. Here were all the great historic names of France,—princes, warriors, statesmen, and all that was highest in rank and place,—the flower, in short, of that brilliant society, so dazzling, captivating, and illusory. In former years the king was usually present, affable and gracious, mingling with his courtiers and sharing their amusements; but he had grown graver of late, and was more often in his cabinet, laboring with his ministers on the task of administration, which his extravagance and ambition made every day more burdensome."

In the fervid imagination of the hour the meditations of Louis are not difficult of interpretation. With a map before him he studied the situation of political affairs, and sought out the red marks of danger. To the south lay Spain, crippled as a beggar, but proudly scorning the beggar's mode of existence; for it had come to pass that the splendid realm of Charles the Fifth had been so grievously juggled by fate that its weakness attracted the cupidity of adventurers. Holland, in her sturdy sons and threatening dykes, defied the legions of Louis; while England, under the kingship of that strong soul so frailly held, William of Orange, was preparing to challenge France to mortal combat. In England lay the hopes of those brave men who, following the setting sun, had found homes amidst the forests of New England. The King of Versailles was not playing blind man's buff, for his life had been generous in

experiments and prodigal of experiences. If with keen satisfaction he reflected on the vassalage of Charles the Second and the perfidy of James, then a pensioner at his court, what were his feelings as he thought of the stern and unyielding William, who had sworn to protect the political and religious freedom of England even to the last drop of his blood! The oath at Whitehall proclaimed the ruin of Versailles. The angry discussions, the campaigns with their savage battles and weary sieges, the contests for the supremacy of the sea, the debates, the treaties, all may now be laid aside, while we follow the series of events beginning in the royal throne room at Versailles and culminating on the Plains of Abraham.

The tireless energy and inextinguishable zeal of the Jesuits kindled in the breast of the great king an ambition to go out into the wilderness and conquer new realms;—so Louis, wearied with wars at home, turned his eyes toward Canada, and saw perhaps in his dreams an empire in the west far greater than the geographers of Europe dared to define, and far richer than courtly flatterers dared to value. Thus, in the year 1689, the war-spent monarch, as if conscious of impending disaster (for the results of his previous expeditions had been disheartening), turned from European state-craft and bent his energies in fitting out one more expedition to Canada. Looking about him for a commander, his eyes rested on Count Frontenac. This remarkable man, now in his seventieth year, had spent half his life in and around Quebec, and the desperation of the situation quickly commended him to the king. The choice was not a bad one, for Frontenac deserved well of his king, in whose service he had long since drawn his sword.

The distress in which European affairs had placed Louis denied to the courageous count a single soldier; and yet his mission was to raise a prostrate colony, and to beat into submission a people in whose veins coursed blood that years of persecution and suffering had not made thin. The loyal count did not stop to consider his mission. He received his instructions, kissed the royal hand, and, repairing to Rochelle, embarked and sailed away for the new world. When I unfold the plan sanctioned by the king and entrusted to Frontenac to

carry out, you will then see the connection existing between what was done in the gay palace at Versailles and what soon after took place in the rude frontier settlements on the Merri-mack. The plan was certainly a daring one, but the count saw in it a grand opportunity to retrieve his squandered fortunes, and to make for himself a name that should thrill Europe with admiration. This was the plan of campaign: New York was to be suddenly invaded by the troops then in Canada, supported by two war-ships. Lakes Champlain and George were to be passed in canoes and batteaux, and the troops hurried across to Albany, which was to be razed to the ground; after which they were to seize the river craft and descend the Hudson to the town of New York, which at that time was supposed to contain about two hundred houses and four hundred fighting men. Meanwhile the two ships were to hover in the harbor and await the coming of the soldiery. In the event of success great advantages would surely result to France. The Iroquois, deprived of English arms and ammunition, would be at the mercy of the French, the question of English rivalry in the west would be settled, and, above all, the way to Quebec would be much easier along the banks of the Hudson and the winding shores of the lakes than by the toilsome and oftentimes inaccessible St. Lawrence. The last feature of the plan was the utter separation of New England from the colonies to the south, thereby exposing it to all the dangers of invasion and preparing it for some future conquest. Everything went wrong: head-winds delayed the arrival of the ships till late in the autumn, and the enterprise turned out to be a complete failure. Thus Nature once again arrayed herself on the side of the settlers.

In case of success the king announced his intention towards the conquered as follows: All Catholics should be left undisturbed; persons of estate were to be thrown into prison; all lands except those of Catholics were to be taken from the owners, and granted under a feudal tenure to French officers and soldiers. A portion of all property, public or private, was to be sold on account of the king. Mechanics were to work on the fortifications, and do other labor. The rest of the Dutch

and English inhabitants, men, women, and children, were to be carried out of the colony and dispersed in New England, Pennsylvania, or other places, in such a manner that they could not combine in any attempt to recover their property and their country. And, that the conquest might be perfectly secure, the nearest settlements of New England were to be destroyed, and those more remote laid under contribution.

This atrocious plan, worthy the perjured soul that signed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, miscarried in every particular, but it sowed the seed of religious hatred on singularly fertile soil, which nourished it unto the harvest time of an internecine war that waged a full hundred years.

It is eminently proper at this stage to give our attention to that dreaded and warlike people who during the trying years of this bloody period actually held the balance of power between the French and the English. It was then that the aborigines arrogated to themselves a physical supremacy that the servants of both kings were forced to acknowledge and obey. It was not the Indian, generically speaking, that held the scales at equipoise between the combatants, but a tribal family known then as the Iroquois, and later as the Five Nations. Francis Parkman thus describes this historic confederation: "In central New York, stretching east and west from the Hudson to the Genesee, lay that redoubted people who have lent their name to the tribal family of the Iroquois, and stamped it indelibly on the early pages of American history. Among all the barbarous nations of the continent, the Iroquois of New York stand paramount. Elements which among other tribes were crude, confused, and embryotic, were among them systematized and concreted into an established policy. The Iroquois was the Indian of Indians. A thorough savage, yet a finished and developed savage, he is perhaps an example of the highest elevation which man can reach without emerging from his primitive condition of the hunter. A geographical position, commanding on one hand the portal of the Great Lakes, and on the other the sources of the streams flowing both to the Atlantic and the Mississippi, gave the ambitious and aggressive confederates advantages which they perfectly

understood, and by which they profited to the utmost. Patient and politic as they were ferocious, they were not only conquerors of their own race, but the powerful allies and the dreaded foes of the French and English colonies, flattered and caressed by both, yet too sagacious to give themselves without reserve to either. Their organization and their history evince their intrinsic superiority. Even their traditionary lore, amid its wild puerilities, shows at times the stamp of an energy and force in striking contrast with the flimsy creations of Algonquin fancy."

Research seems to point to the conclusion that the Iroquois formed originally one undivided people, but jealousies, caprice, and the necessities of the hunt separated them into five distinct nations, spreading through central New York from the Hudson westward in the following order: Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas. In course of time, discord having kept the disunited people in constant fear, a celestial being appeared and counselled them to peace and union, pointing out the advantages that would ensue, and promising them a supernatural power that would cause all the forests throughout the land to tremble at the name of Iroquois. The heavenly vision did its work most thoroughly, and the warring tribes came together, and with weird and boisterous ceremonies formed that celebrated league that resolutely resisted disease, defeat, and even the elements, for three quarters of a century.

The Iroquois lived in a state of chronic warfare with nearly all the surrounding tribes, except a few from whom they exacted tribute. Any man of sufficient personal credit might raise a war party when he chose. All he had to do was to proclaim his purpose through the village, sing his war-songs, bury his hatchet in the war-post, and dance the war-dance. Any who chose joined him, and the party usually took up their march at once, with a little parched corn meal and maple sugar as their only provision. The Iroquois had a discipline suited to the dark and tangled forests where they fought, and they were a terrible foe.

A striking peculiarity of government is observed among these Indians. While the head of the nation was composed of

an oligarchy, the nation was essentially democratic. Equal rights prevailed as perhaps they have not prevailed since. Every man, whether high or low, had a voice in the conduct of affairs, and, come what might, never lost his prerogative of speaking his mind and exercising his right in the transaction of tribal affairs. There was no property, in our sense of the word, and authority was of a vague and illusory character, and yet the sachems always aimed to exercise authority without seeming to do so. They wore no insignia of chieftainship, nor were their costumes noticeably attractive. The emoluments of office were insignificant, but, on the other hand, no splendid entertainments fell to their lot; so the sachems were content to hunt and fish with meaner braves, and prided themselves on being as foul, greasy, and unsavory as the rest. In them, however, was often seen a native dignity which paint and bear's grease could not hide. The population of the Five Nations was variously estimated by missionaries and travellers, but the general testimony would indicate that at about the close of the seventeenth century, or the period to which our attention is directed, it was upwards of twenty-three hundred warriors, which would imply a population, all told, of ten or twelve thousand.

It was to this people that both sides turned in times of danger, for they knew too well by long and costly experience the prevailing strength that lay in the swarthy ranks of the great confederation.

The Iroquois were generally inclined towards the English, but their friendliness was not wholly of a disinterested kind. The reasons underlying it all could not possibly be made of use by the romantic novelist, who is prone to discover in our aborigines those sterling traits of character that make a race higher than humanity and lower than angels. The wily Indian possessed something besides prowess and cunning: he early began to scent the possibilities of trade, and, with an instinct worthy of a Yankee, sat in his camp and silently put in motion all the reasoning faculties at his command. In view of what took place in the period of his ascendancy, we may conclude that the red man was no common student in the science of

barter and exchange: in truth, it would not be a misstatement to say that he recognized that principle of political economy now known as Protection. He argued in his rude way, and his deductions led him irresistibly into business connections with the English. It must be admitted, however, that it was not the love of gain alone that led him in this direction. No people were ever more greedy of land than the Indians. To own vast territories was their proudest boast; to point to the descending sun, and in eloquent thought compare that orb with some great chief visiting the distant confines of his domain, was their especial delight. The powerful Iroquois nation, whose warriors had shouted their hoarse battle cries in the ears of the affrighted settlers of Maryland and Virginia, laid claim to an empire as boundless as the overshadowing heavens, and stood ready to fight for their heritage.

The restless activity and persistency of the Canadians had long been the subject of Iroquois debate, and they viewed with ill-concealed enmity the erection of French stations on the shores of the Great Lakes and on the banks of the Mississippi. The adventurous Frontenac had invaded their lands and claimed sovereignty in the name of his king; he had even gone further, and commanded the redskins to swear allegiance to his royal master. Alone, the Indians could not maintain their claims, but allied to either of the rivals, they recognized the possibilities of their power. These two considerations, the greatest that could then or now be presented to a people, decided the course of the Five Nations. They saw in the English the best customers for their furs and their strongest support in time of trouble, and so the calumet was smoked. This alliance was not without its weak places, owing to the vacillations and caprices that always mark the character of savages; but firmness and caution contributed to allay the suspicions and to cool the excitability of the dusky warriors, and the compact, in which fear, vengeance, and cupidity were the component parts, endured for a series of years.

Count Frontenac was not the man to turn pale at fearful emergencies: he was a bold and skilful soldier, who had fought side by side with some of the best generals in Europe,

and he resolved to annihilate the Iroquois for their treaty with the English on the Hudson. An intermittent war was waged, invasion was followed by incursion, battle was answered by massacre. Victory was never more capricious: she refused to have a favorite: she was cruelly fickle, and did not seem to care about the savage or the Frenchman.

At length the futility of such a warfare was impressed on the French commander, and he resolved boldly to march into the enemy's territory and lay waste his settlements. The plan was carried out, but was successful only in part. Innocent women and children were slaughtered, cattle killed, and houses destroyed, but no lasting advantage came of it. The French and their Indian scouts sullenly retreated into the forests, and slowly made their way back to Canada. Frontenac had only shed blood: he had not added an inch of territory nor secured a penny of indemnity: he had roused the New England people, and they were preparing for that final contest that was to drive the house of Bourbon into the sea. Up to this time the wars had been largely in New York, where the settlers and their Iroquois allies had maintained their own against their foes; but now we are taken to the scene of another campaign, whose horrors make the history of York and Wells, of Oyster River and Haverhill.

To the readers of this era of the nineteenth century, Acadia brings to memory the graceful poem of Longfellow, with sweet Evangeline, and the village of Grand-Pré with its tale of woe. We are now conducted to that same serene angle of the earth, and bidden to see the Acadia of 1694. It was claimed by the French, and, according to their claims, included Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the greater part of Maine. It was a wilderness of woods and a wilderness of waves, with many fertile fields and innumerable headlands and deep bays. Nowhere on the continent was the scenery more rugged or more picturesque. Here roamed a tribe of Indians whose name we have not yet known, but more savage red men could not be found. Their habits were as wild as their haunts, and yet they evinced some of the aptitude of the husbandman by tilling their lands, and planting corn and beans and pumpkins, which they left to

nature to watch over while they went down to the sea in canoes. They were of a peculiarly roving disposition, and no sooner were the crops gathered than away they went, either to hunt or to fish. These Indians were the Abenakis, and to them Frontenac turned for assistance. The old soldier did not treat with them in person: he chose other means by which to gain his ends. The Jesuits were the ambassadors to arrange matters, and they did their work skilfully and thoroughly. Their missions among the savages of Acadia were highly successful. Some of the Indians were induced to emigrate to Canada and dwell in the mission villages, while those that remained in their native woods quickly became converts to Romanism, and therefore allies of France. Up to this point the French felt secure of the friendship of the Abenakis, but all at once a danger that no one foresaw confronted the over-sanguine Canadians. The English began trading with the savages: they even sailed up their rivers, caught fish, and exchanged the glittering tokens of civilization for rich furs. Before many years had passed, a brisk and profitable trade sprang up between these savages and the thrifty New Englanders. In the hostile encounters the English had displayed fighting qualities of a remarkable kind, which the Indians were quick to observe and take lessons from; and then in addition to this were the attractions of speculation and the hope of gain, which disposed many to peace;—so before the French were fully aware of these factors, a provisional treaty had actually been signed between the Abenakis and the commissioners of Massachusetts.

The French were filled with alarm. Peace between the Abenakis and the "Bostonnais" would be disastrous both to Acadia and to Canada, because these tribes held the passes through the northern wilderness, and so long as they were held in the interest of France the settlements on the St. Lawrence were covered from attack. Moreover, the government depended upon the Indians to fight its battles: therefore no pains were spared to break off their incipient treaty with the English and to spur them again to war. Presents were given in abundance, the Jesuits redoubled their efforts, new officers poured into the fair land, and all hastened to obey the royal command

to wage incessant war against the English borders. A blow must be struck in order to encourage the uneven resolution of the savages,—and thus a frightful border war was precipitated on the innocent and hapless English. Nothing that the ingenuity of the priests could conceive was withheld from the red barbarians. They were filled with promises and grew big with conceit, and those that joined the expedition set out stimulated with feelings of revenge such as only the plastic minds of savages could entertain. The attack on Haverhill was one of that series of invasions, onslaughts, and massacres inspired by the French and a few Jesuits, and set on foot among the Abenakis of Acadia and the Christian Indians of the mission stations along the St. Lawrence.

With minds or imaginations singularly impressionable, the mysteries of the mass appealed strongly to the red man, and the work of redeeming their souls according to the rubric of Rome was carried on with a zeal and persistency that challenge the admiration of all candid generations. The early priests were, with few exceptions, men of high character and lofty purposes, who cheerfully faced death in every form that they might carry eternal light to the innermost shades of the wilderness; but among them were brothers whose insatiate greed for political aggrandizement urged them to measures and means that would not have been thought of by the infamous kings of the Middle Ages.

It so happened that there dwelt among the Abenakis at this time two priests who preached and practised the red religion of carnage and rapine, and to their baneful influence may be traced the atrocities of the irregular but devastating war. Bigot and Thury were the leading instigators of the Indian mode of settling territorial disputes and the rights of property. There is no question that Thury exerted himself to the utmost to incite the savages to dig up the tomahawk, and to instil into the breasts of his converts an unrelenting hatred of the heretics across the border. It is related that an Abenaki chief, when a prisoner in Boston about this time, declared that the Indians had been taught that Jesus Christ was the son of a French lady, and that the English had murdered him, and that the best way

to gain his favor was to revenge his death. Even amid the forests of Maine, as late as 1836, an ancient Indian, and a probable descendant of the Abenakis, innocently asked a surveyor if "Bethlehem was not a town in France"—an inquiry that certainly had about it an aroma of ancestral belief. To keep these converts in hostility to the English enhanced the power of the ecclesiastics with the civil authorities: therefore any familiar intercourse between the French and the Indians was hindered almost to the point of prohibition, and yet the spiritual nature of the savage was as carefully looked after as that of a prince. "He wore a crucifix, hung wampum on the Shrine of the Virgin, told his beads, prayed three times a day, knelt for hours before the Host, invoked the saints, and confessed to the priests; but with rare exceptions he murdered, scalped, and tortured like his heathen countrymen."

On the other hand, the English committed more than one crime against the unwritten laws of intercourse and hospitality;—they imprisoned trusting Indians, and sometimes they shot them down with a levity that seems strangely inconsistent with the necessities of the hour. More than once the English acted in bad faith, and did things that the most specious arguments fail to make right; and for all these breaches of faith the poor and blameless settlers along the New England border had to undergo hardships and endure tortures that all coming generations of civilization must shudder to recall.

The frontier of Massachusetts at the close of the seventeenth century may be traced by a line drawn from Falmouth, now Portland, Maine, to the vicinity of what is now Worcester, and between these bounds were clustered at irregular distances the settlements of Saco, Wells, York, Haverhill, Andover, Dunstable, and Groton, which were the scenes of the warfare waged by the Christian Indians of Canada and the Abenakis of the East.

In all probability the savages that attacked Haverhill in March, 1697, came from the tribes that had laid waste to Salmon Falls, York, and Wells a few years before, and yet at this late day all conclusions regarding this must depend wholly upon conjecture. The wild and shiftless habits of the red man,

and the changeable moods that marked his nature, render his identity impossible for more than a year or two at a time. To-day he dwells on the Merrimack; to-morrow he gathers up his worldly possessions, and seeks some mission station on the St. Lawrence, or plunges into the forest in search of game. The Indian was essentially nomadic, and any spot served him as a resting-place provided sustenance was abundant.

Fear of the Mohawks, the chief tribe in the powerful Iroquois confederation, had driven many of the Penacook Indians to the eastward, where they undoubtedly mingled to some extent with the Abenakis and neighboring tribes, from whom they soon caught the spirit of the times, and, smearing their faces with grease and paint, sounded the war-whoop.

With two centuries of progress and development dividing us from the period of the Indian invasion of Haverhill all researches must be unsatisfactory, and any investigation absolutely fixing upon the exact spot of Indian towns or Indian camping-places must be received with extreme caution. In nearly every instance obliteration has done its thorough work, leaving only a few slight traces of that which legendary lore has long been wont to clothe with life and action. We may surmise as to this or that, but it avails nothing. The ripest scholar is only led by the elf child of fancy. The deepest researches discover but little. The Indians spoke in signs which, like the swift flight of birds, only divided the air and left no trace behind. The whole aboriginal history, as compared with other human history, is but the recital of the instincts of wild beasts. The savage clung closely to nature, and, so far as his own history was concerned, when life closed he became as much a part of nature as the decaying trunk of some giant pine whose boughs had sheltered him when weary from the chase. The red men lived for the moment, indulging in war and in the hunt, utterly insensible to annals and records: consequently we may as well try to catch the spirit of their startling ceremonies—the gauntlet, the yells, the shrieks, the blows, the brutality, the revolting practices, the savage sacrifices, all—as to summon from a jealous past their surnames and their former habitations. History is silent when we ask

from what tribe hailed the Haverhill butchers, and yet my judgment persuades me to class them with the Abenakis and the converts over whom the Jesuits had so much influence.

The war had now lasted several years, and the frontier towns bore the brunt of it all. The enemy was too cautious to be caught within the lines, notwithstanding that about this time the energetic Frontenac had actually begun to plan an attack on Boston, which, however, went no further than the planning. Affairs along the border were in sad disorder, nor did the future promise any respite from flame and massacre. In an address to the king only the year before, the General Court of Massachusetts set forth the exhausted state of the province through the languishing and wasting war with the French and Indians, and prayed for such assistance as could be had, so that "Canada, the unhappy fountain" from which issued their miseries, might be reduced.

Haverhill, at the time of our research, might be classed with the New Hampshire towns, so far as its sufferings and vicissitudes were concerned. To the historian, the boundary line alone connected it with Massachusetts. The inhabitants were on terms of intimacy with those across the line, and what augured ill for one augured equally ill for the other. In honest, hearty communism were the men of Haverhill with their neighbors in the adjacent colony. In quoting from Belknap, I am confident that we get a faithful account of the general feeling prevailing at this time throughout all the settlements. "The people of New Hampshire were much reduced, their lumber trade and husbandry being greatly impeded by the war. Frequent complaints were made of the burden of the war, the scarcity of provisions, and the dispiritedness of the people. In this situation they were obliged to apply to their neighbors for assistance, but this was granted with a sparing hand. The people of Massachusetts were much divided and at variance among themselves, partly on account of the pretended witchcrafts which have made so loud a noise in the world. Party and passion had usurped the place of patriotism, and the defence, not only of their neighbors but of themselves, was neglected to gratify their malignant humors." For more than half

a century Haverhill had been a frontier town, and had suffered heroically, but the time did actually come when the expediency of abandoning the township was solemnly discussed in open meeting. The long persecuted farmers were paralyzed, and hearts were like lead. Scarcely a year had passed without an Indian assault, leaving anguish and terror in its wake. It was true that the town had provided six garrison-houses and quartered in them a considerable command, but the habitations were widely separated from each other, and those on the outskirts of the township were always in danger.

In addition to the garrisons and the houses of refuge, many private houses were fortified and strengthened, and even the meeting-house had port-holes in its walls and a flanker at the east corner. "Most of the garrisons were built of brick, and were two stories high; those that were not built of this material had a single layer of it between the outer and inner walls. They had but one outside door, which was often so small that but one person could enter at a time; their windows were about two feet and a half in length, eighteen inches in breadth, and were secured on the inside with iron bars. Their glass was very small, cut in the shape of a diamond, was extremely thick, and fastened in with lead instead of putty. There were generally but two rooms in the basement story, and tradition says that they entered the chamber with the help of a ladder instead of stairs, so that the inmates could retreat and haul it up if the basement story should be taken by the enemy. Their fireplaces were of such enormous sizes that they could burn their wood sled-length very conveniently; and the ovens opened on the outside of the building, generally at the end, behind the fireplace, and were of such dimensions that a sufficient quantity of bread might have been baked in them to supply a regiment of hungry mouths." The ordinary houses at this time were generally two stories high, with the upper story jutting a foot or two over the lower. The roofs were high and steep, and hipped or gambrelled. The frames were of white oak and of large dimensions, and so were the beams and rafters which the custom of that day decreed should be left in sight. The windows were of a medium size, some being made in halves and

some whole, and opened outwardly. To guard against winter, the walls were smeared with clay mixed with straw, or overlaid with a rude plaster composed of lime made from clamshells.

The earth about Haverhill furnished an abundance of good clay: consequently bricks were commonly used in various ways upon the walls and partitions of the houses, both as a means of comfort and security. Shingle or thatch covered the roofs, but costly experience soon proved the danger of thatch. The savages, quickly perceiving its inflammable nature, promptly added fire-brands to their implements of warfare. One large chimney, set in the middle of the house, received the smoke from the kitchen and other fireplaces, any one of which was sufficiently generous to accommodate several weary men and women. With a draught like a forging-mill, the consumption of wood was enormous, and thirty-five cords of wood, says one writer, was not an uncommon supply for family use.

Every house and building was constructed solely for shelter and defence, and the venerable age that attended them proved the soundness of the timbers and the thoroughness of putting them together. There was no disposition to create the house beautiful: only the severest economy was practised, and it was not till late in the next century that paint began to be commonly used, either inside or outside the dwellings. The furniture was rudely made, and the utensils of the kitchen were neither numerous nor labor-saving. There was no attempt to lighten the hardships of those sturdy men and women, whose daily life was a constant struggle with both nature and nature's fiends. They lived in the midst of death, ready for the savage alarm, and yet full of hope and courage. Picture to yourselves Haverhill two hundred years ago, and read in its lights and shadows the annals of every frontier town.

Scattered houses and log cabins standing against the dark shades of the unbroken forests, garrisons with projections and flankers, houses of refuge with their rough walls pierced with menacing port-holes, and strong men clad in strange costumes moving about with guns slung over their shoulders, pausing at the slightest noise and alert to know its meaning, were some

of the sights two hundred years ago. Corn-fields, rescued from the wilderness, wave in the breeze, and sing melodies of peace; and yet how solemnly still is the neighborhood! The grand old Merrimack moves on towards the sea, telling the gleaming hosts of heaven how beautiful they are, while birds, free from care and jealousy, welcome the new comers beneath their boughs, and fragrant buds and wondrous flowers perfume the air. What a paradise, say you: alas, leaden fear weighs on the heart; and the breath is stilled, as if a breaking twig, done perchance by a frightened partridge or a frolicsome rabbit, sounds ominously upon the solitude. It is not for us to contemplate with any degree of realism the dreadful fate that threatened these settlers day after day for more than one hundred years. What do we know of sufferings like theirs! Could our flesh have borne their trials? would our faith have been so serene and unshaken? could we of this dizzy civilization have laid the corner-stones of liberty and right as they laid them?

The long series of hostilities between the English settlers and the Canadians and Indians, known in history as King William's War, was drawing to a close, and a better feeling found its way among the poor and bleeding inhabitants of Haverhill. Notwithstanding murder and devastation, the stubborn English held their own. Not an inch of land had been ceded to the enemy, not a penny of indemnity had been promised or paid, and yet the frontiers were infested by prowling bands of savages whose zeal for massacre was only restrained by circumstances. It was now winter, a season most welcome to the dwellers along the troubled frontier, for the cold months generally brought a cessation of hostilities. Deep snows, and the river sealed with ice, were looked upon as a good security from attack: so the sorely harassed people of Haverhill breathed easier as they saw the woods bend under the snow and the Merrimack hide beneath the ice. But savage warfare followed no fixed laws, and while the pale-faces began to think of the spring planting and other labors, the redskins were planning to set out on the expedition that produced the subject of my sketch.

Indian tactics varied but little, and yet, yearly repetition had not made the English entirely familiar with them. The savage kept up his cunning to the last, and suffered nothing in the way of lies and false dealings to thwart his purpose.

In attack they were seldom seen before they did execution. They did not appear in the open field, and rarely displayed that true courage that the world prizes above rubies. Ambush or surprise was invariably the plan chosen, and when the latter, it generally took place in the morning. Concealing themselves behind logs and bushes, or the fences leading to the door-yard, they quietly awaited their victims. In case of discovery the garrisoned marksmen found great difficulty in locating their hiding-places, and sometimes that could be done only by the reports of their guns. The Indian was sparing of ammunition, and never discharged his fire unless he had made close calculations on its probable effect.

When this condition of affairs arose, the Indian waited till the going down of the sun, and then made his escape, the whites, of course, refusing to pursue. If the Indians thought a house would offer a stout resistance, it was generally passed by, for the children of the forest never displayed any ambition to carry on assaults against a foe well fortified: on the contrary, they lurked around the place, making themselves acquainted with the habits of the family, and storing in their memory all the details necessary for a successful attack when opportunity should offer.

This, then, may be accepted as a truthful account of aboriginal warfare as practised two hundred years ago, and with this preface we now approach the bloody incident that called forth genuine public approval then, and a wider but not less hearty approval now.

In the quaint and ancient style of Dr. Cotton Mather, we have the only account of the Dustan affair, and from it a score of different versions have been made. This divine had the story from the women themselves, and he lost no time in setting forth the details of the exploit in phrases as odd as his mode of living was eccentric. The following is a literal copy from Article XXV of "*Magnalia Christi Americana*."

"A NOTABLE EXPLOIT. *Dux Faemina Facti.*

"On March 15, 1697, the salvages made a descent upon the skirts of Haverhill, murdering and captivating about thirty-nine persons, and burning about half a dozen houses. In this broil one Hannah Dustan, having lain in about a week, attended with her nurse Mary Neff, a body of terrible Indians drew near unto the house where she lay, with designs to carry on their bloody devastations. Her husband hastened from his employments abroad unto the relief of his distressed family; and first bidding seven of his eight children (which were from two to seventeen years of age) to get away as fast as they could unto some garrison in the town, he went in to inform his wife of the horrible distress come upon them. E'er she could get up, the fierce indians were got so near, that utterly despairing to do her any service, he ran out after his children, resolving that on the horse which he had with him he would ride away with that which he should in this extremity find his affections to pitch most upon, and leave the rest under the care of the divine Providence. He overtook his children about forty rod from his door; but then such was the agony of his parental affections, that he found it impossible for him to distinguish any one of them from the rest; wherefore he took up a courageous resolution to live and die with them all. A party of indians came up with him, and now though they fired at him and he fired at them, yet he manfully kept at the reer of his little army of unarmed children, while they marched off with the pace of a child of five years old, until by a singular providence of God, he arrived safe with them all unto a place of safety about a mile or two from his house. But his house must in the meantime have more dismal tragedies acted at it. The nurse trying to escape with the new-born infant, fell into the hands of the formidable salvages; and those furious tawnies coming into the house, bid poor Dustan to rise immediately. Full of astonishment she did so, and sitting down in the chimney with a heart full of most fearful expectation, she saw the raging dragons rifle all that they could carry away, and set the house on fire. About nineteen or twenty indians now led these away,

with about half a score of other English captives ; but e'er they had gone many steps they dashed out the brains of the infant against a tree ; and several of the other captives, as they began to tire in the sad journey were soon sent into their long home ; the salvages would presently bury their hatchets in their brains and leave their carcasses on the ground for birds and beasts to feed upon.

“How Ever, Dustan (with her nurse) notwithstanding her present condition, travelled that night about a dozen miles, and then kept up with their new masters in a long travel of one hundred and fifty miles, more or less, within a few days ensuing, without any sensible damage in their health, from the hardships of their travel, their lodging, their diet, and their many other difficulties. These two poor women were now in the hands of those whose tender mercies are cruelties ; but the good God who hath all hearts in his own hands, heard the sighs of these prisoners, and gave them to find unexpected favor from the master who had laid claim unto them.

“That indian family consisted of twelve persons ; two stout men, three women, and seven children, and for the shame of many an English family that has the character of prayerless upon it, I must now publish what these poor women assure me ; 't is this, in obedience to the instructions which the French have given them, they would have prayers in the family no less than thrice every day ; in the morning, at noon, and in the evening ; nor would they ordinarily let their children eat or sleep, without first saying their prayers. Indeed, these idolaters were like the rest of their whiter brethren, persecutors and would not endure that these poor women should retire to their English prayers if they could hinder them. Nevertheless, the poor women had nothing but fervent prayers to make their lives comfortable or tolerable ; and by being daily sent out upon business they had opportunities together and asunder to do like another Hannah, in pouring out their souls before the Lord : Nor did their praying friends among ourselves forbear to pour out supplications for them.

“Now they could not observe it without some wonder, that their indian master sometimes when he saw them dejected,

would say unto them, 'What need you trouble yourself? If your God will have you delivered, you shall be so.' And it seems our God would have it so to be. This indian family was now travelling with these two captive women (and an English youth taken from Worcester, a year and a half before) unto a rendezvous of salvages which they call a town, somewhere beyond Penacook; and they still told these poor women, that when they came to this town they must be stript and scourged, and run the gauntlet through the whole body of indians. They said this was the fashion when the captives first came to a town, and they derided some of the faint-hearted English, which, they said, fainted and swooned away under the torments of this discipline. But on April 30, while they were yet, it may be, an hundred and fifty miles from the Indian town, a little before break of day, when the whole crew was in a dead sleep, (Reader, see if it prove not so) one of these women took up a resolution to imitate the action of Jael upon Sisera; and being where she had not her own life secured by any law unto her, she thought she was not forbidden by any law to take away the life of the murderers by whom her child had been butchered. She hardened the nurse and the youth to assist her in this enterprise; and all furnishing themselves with hatchets for the purpose, they struck such home-blows upon the heads of their sleeping-oppressors, that e'er they could any of them struggle into effectual resistance, at the feet of these poor prisoners, they bow'd, they fell, they lay down: at their feet they bowed, they fell; where they bowed, there they fell down dead. Only one squaw escaped sorely wounded from them in the dark; and one boy whom they reserved asleep, intending to bring him away with them, suddenly waked and scuttled away from this desolation. But cutting off the scalps of the ten wretches, they came off, and received fifty pounds from the General Assembly of the Province, as a recompense of their action; besides which they received many presents of congratulation from their more private friends; but none gave 'em a greater taste of bounty than Colonel Nicholson, the Governor of Maryland, who hearing of their action, sent 'em a very generous token of his favor."

Divested of its extravagances, the exploit as described by Cotton Mather may be accepted as one of the best accounts concerning the extraordinary part played by Hannah Dustan in the last years of King William's War. Those who know the life of Mather, his strange ideas and stranger actions, may excuse his unique phraseology ; but those who for the first time peruse the account will experience a certain feeling of doubt concerning the deeds of a heroine whose biographer was given to such exceeding eccentricity of statement. Mather, however, was looked upon as the historian of his time, and was considered the best living authority on New England annals. That he was one of the characters of his age is everywhere conceded ;—he was one whose whims and caprices excited the opposition of his contemporaries, and whose habits of keeping fasts and vigils caused men to shake their heads, and wonder as to his sanity. Rarely have the cloisters of Italy witnessed a contrition deeper than that of this Puritan priest. No neophyte, in his bare and gloomy cell, exceeded him in the severity of his devotions.

With a mind coveting historical food, Cotton Mather was prone to magnify the ordinary events of the day, giving to them a notoriety not always merited, but still receiving and treating them in his way ; and it was to this unusual enthusiasm that we are indebted to-day for that justly celebrated book, so teeming with interest and movement, the "*Magnalia*." Not wanting in faults, and partly untrustworthy, we turn to its venerable pages, and, in the midst of its seeming chaos, discover so many good chapters that we forget the author and his oddities, and come to regard his work as a master picture of the times.

And so the chapter concerning Mrs. Dustan may be received as an illustration of the style and purpose of Cotton Mather's historical studies. He possessed some remarkable ideas concerning the Indians, which, under his treatment, became ridiculous. Witchcraft engrossed his days and nights, until the devil was uppermost in his thoughts. All the sin and cruelty of this sphere, including Indian warfare, was ascribed to the doings of the nether monarch ; his potency was acknowl-

edged and loudly proclaimed; and Cotton Mather, as might be expected, was in the front of battle. He believed the devil to be a linguist, and credited him with fluency in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Indian. It was in the midst of such mental impressions that we find Hannah Dustan and her two companions in Mather's presence. They had journeyed to Boston, where they arrived April 21, only a few weeks after the capture. It was at this visit that the story of the captivity and escape was told to Mather, as it was to many others; for the news of the deed done by Mrs. Dustan had preceded her to Boston, where she was regarded with unwonted curiosity. Her recital of her sufferings moved Mather's morbid mind to its profoundest depths; and the longer he pondered over so strange an adventure, the deeper became his conviction that it partook largely of the nature of a miracle. His very words prove that he regarded it in the light of a special dispensation of Providence; and he undoubtedly used it in the pulpit, deducing therefrom many a lesson, which he sought to impress upon his hearers.

To Mather's impressionable nature and distorted ideas of life may be confidently attributed the remarkable account in his *Magnalia*. If, however, this were the only source of our knowledge of the exploit, I should hesitate about receiving it in full faith of its literal truthfulness; but fortunately for those who deprecate a skepticism in things historical, an eminent man of the same time made an entry in his diary as to the whole affair, and gives nearly the same version. This man was the Rev. John Pike, one of the celebrated men of his day. Only a few years later, Hutchinson, the historian of Massachusetts Bay, tells the same story; and about this time, Niles, who was authority on Indian warfare, introduces the narrative in his works. Besides, the story was notorious, and soon became as firmly established as any fact in contemporaneous history. It is true that the story has not always been fully accepted by scholars and general readers, but the reason has not been difficult to ascertain. Like all popular stories, it was overdone by its believers. They said too much, brooked no difference of opinion, and tolerated no cross-questioning. Nothing is more certain to create a school of skeptics than

irrational enthusiasm. As the years went on, and Indian troubles became rare, those who fully believed the story became constantly fewer, and the new generations that took their places did not inherit all their legends and beliefs.

The Indian began to be ridiculous in his utter squalor, and the once noble red man served as the theme for wits to play upon—an opportunity that was at once accepted: so, long before our day, the mention of the aborigines, especially those of New England, was calculated to generate a gentle type of sarcasm in the public mind, while to the youth of the land an intimate acquaintance with the fat and not over cleanly basket-makers at the sea-shore did not bring to his mind visions of the olden time, when the ancestors of these people challenged his ancestors to mortal combat. I confess that in my youth these annual visitations of Indians created no enthusiasm in my mind, nor did they rouse any feelings other than those of a monetary character stimulated by the sight of ingenious baskets and highly colored bows and arrows.

As to the affair of Hannah Dustan and its wonderful details, my opinion had never been tested until within a few months. In approaching the subject my mind was clearly unprejudiced, and I resolved to reach the original sources of the story. In seeking these fountains I found numerous obstacles; and yet in searching ancient records, one must be prepared for annoyances and difficulties without number. As the result of my investigations, I have no hesitation in stating my belief in the story of Mrs. Dustan. There are portions, as detailed by Mather, that call for criticism, but, taken together, only the most desperate iconoclast can fling stones at it.

How far the Indians took these women will always remain a matter of doubt. The common tradition is, that they went to a place on the Merrimack which is now popularly known as Dustan's Island, and that there, in the early morning of March 30th, the deed was done, and the escape made in canoes. Of this part of the narrative I am somewhat skeptical.

When we remember that the attack on Haverhill was made in the middle of March, we are forced to consider the probable condition of the country at that time.

Surely a New England March is the very demon of weather. At no period of the year are the skies more uncertain, or the signs less auspicious; none but the hardiest adventurer dare set out on a distant journey at such a time. It was possibly on this account that the red-skins chose so inclement a season for their assault. They reasoned, that at such a time, when snow and ice were at their worst, the settlers would be less watchful, and the garrisons might not have their quota of defenders, owing to the fact that before this year the Indian attacks had usually been made during the warmer months. It is preposterous to think of the Indians silently paddling in canoes down the boisterous Merrimack, and it is equally so to picture the escape by means of river navigation. The canoe theory, considering everything, is wholly untenable. The band of Indians that made this part of New England history, hailed either from the mission stations of Canada or from the Eastern Abenakis. The tactics of these tribes were very similar, and their methods of warfare differed but slightly.

There is, however, one feature in the narrative that causes me considerable perplexity, and I am unable to reconcile it with what I have learned concerning Indian customs. According to history, Hannah Dustan found herself in an Indian family, consisting of two men, three women, and seven children, and in this company she remained until the killing.

Now, it is the custom of Indians when on the war-path to leave their women at home, but while on the hunt the whole family went along. The Abenakis did not take their squaws with them when on the war-path, nor did the Iroquois; therefore I am unable to account for the exception in the case before us. If the Indians were on the hunt, it would seem hardly probable that they would penetrate the wilderness as far as Haverhill in search of game; so I am at a loss to explain why so numerous a following attended the savages on this excursion. It is not important, however, to spend time over this matter, for it is certain that the Indians, whether Abenakis or not, or whether on the war-path or the hunt, meant to carry the women to Canada and sell them to the French.

The route intended to be taken was directly through the wil-

derness to some point on or near the Merrimack river, then northward toward the lakes of Maine, and thence to the settlements on the St. Lawrence. An unconquerable fear of the Mohawks would keep these savages away from the region about Lakes George and Champlain, so their journey was in all probability as I have indicated.

How far they had gone at the date of the escape is mere conjecture, for the Indians when on the hunt—and in this adventure the hunt enters to some degree—were not rapid travellers. When they came to a desirable spot, the women cut saplings of birch and spruce, while the men cleared a round place, with their snow-shoes for shovels, bending over it the young trees and boughs, and covering the sides with rolls of bark. Here the nomadic hunter rested for days at a time,—then, abandoning the rudely made wigwam, moved on until hunger again overtook him, when another wigwam was built and the hunt resumed. It is probable that the warriors having Mrs. Dustan in charge made several halts up to the time when she parted company with them. In considering the dates mentioned by Mather, the party did probably arrive near Penacook where they made their last resting-place. We must bear in mind that the term Penacook in those days meant a vast region, whose limits cannot at this day be stated with any accuracy.

At what is now Concord, the river has, since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, described many a geometrical figure, and the Indian, observing this, called it Penacook, which, being translated, means “crooked place.” No other race ever equalled the Indian in the fertility of rude imagination. He saw all sorts of animals and birds in the rocks, the woods, and the skies, and he gave appropriate names to the localities where the phenomena had been observed. We have, accordingly, Penacook, Minnehaha, Athabasca, Sunapee, and hundreds of others, whose significations served the savages in place of maps.

At the period of our investigation, the Penacooks, as the local tribe was called, had been completely broken up and separated. It was the terror inspired by the Mohawks that accomplished it. Passaconaway, their most illustrious sachem, was

dead, and his sons possessed but little of their father's virtues and influence; therefore, if the Dustan party had camped anywhere in the vicinity of what is now Concord, they probably saw no evidence of rival Indians. At the Haverhill attack many other captives were made, but they were soon assigned to different detachments, and the wearisome journey commenced without any regard to time or order. In consequence of this the parties were separated, and never afterwards came together. In one of the parties was Hannah Bradly, and to her we are indebted for corroboration of what took place at the scalping of the Indians. Her deposition, sworn to at Haverhill, June 28, 1739, is as follows:

"The deposition of widow Hannah Bradly of Haverhill, of full age who testifieth & saith that about forty years past the said Hannah together with the widow Mary Neff were taken prisoners by the indians & carried together into captivity & above penny cook, the Deponent who was by the indians forced to travel further than the rest of the Captives, and the next night but one there came to us one squaw who said that Hannah Dustan and the aforesaid Mary Neff assisted in killing the Indians of her wigwam except herself and a boy, herself escaping very narrowly, Shewing to myself & others seven wounds as she said with a hatchet on her head which wounds were given her when the rest were killed, and further saith not"

The reason for this deposition is soon explained. Mrs. Bradly had secured aid from the General Court of Massachusetts; so Joseph Neff, Mary's son, was induced to make an application to the same body in hopes of securing a bounty for himself. To prove his claim he sought the assistance of Hannah Bradly, who willingly contributed the above testimony. The General Court was satisfied with Joseph's proof, and soon after granted him two hundred acres of land.

I think it probable that the Indians having Mrs. Dustan and her two companions in charge reached their final camping-place some time near the first of April, for, according to the archives and Cotton Mather, the women arrived in Boston April 21, carrying with them the gun, tomahawks, and the ten scalps as evidence of their sanguinary exploit. The distance

from Haverhill to Penacook was not great, and could be traversed without difficulty in a week or ten days, even in the severest weather.

That part of the story relative to the killing and scalping will never be fully believed by a majority of people; and yet, when the deed and the circumstances that led up to it are seriously considered, skepticism is considerably lessened. The possibility of the bloody act being done by helpless and bleeding women has long been the subject of doubt and discussion, and arguments have been advanced tending to prove its impossibility.

How could civilized women and mothers forget the nicer impulses of their sex, and become more savage than the savages themselves? Whence came that fierce desperation that crushed pity in their hearts, and filled their veins with the black current of revenge? How account for that steady nerve and unflinching courage that directed the fatal blows and did the sickening mutilation?

In the horrors of the fire-side massacre at home, in the agony of beholding innocent infants dashed against rocks or impaled on sharp stakes, in the terror of the wretched future, in the vengeance of outraged womanhood, and in the holy belief that red-skins were devils incarnate, comes the reason. Look upon them in the pangs of their captivity, and fancy the terrible sensations suffered by those captives,—and the deed, marvellous and unheard of, loses its doubtful aspects and stands out in bold consistency. In the midst of a den of wild beasts, Hannah Dustan, Mary Neff, and the boy Leonardson found themselves, and, with the paralyzed feelings of human beings condemned to torture, they unhesitatingly destroyed every vestige of life in order that their own lives might be spared.

The scalping is not to be marvelled at, for they were only skinning creatures of most ferocious nature, whose fierce instincts and blood-thirsty practices allied them to the beasts of the jungle. The two stout warriors, two squaws, and six children were hacked to death, beneath the cold, unsympathizing stars, by the frontier women, who had brought themselves to believe that they were only doing the will of the Lord in

ridding the earth of beasts so cruel. One squaw, as we have seen by the affidavit of Mrs. Bradley, and one boy escaped into the thicket and were seen no more. Without a moment's delay the women began their weird mid-winter journey home through the trackless forests, which they reached after an absence of less than a month.

Under the date of June 16, 1697, in the ancient records of the Massachusetts General Court, I find the following: "*Voted* in concurrence with the representatives that there be allowed and ordered out of the Publick treasury unto Thomas Dustan of Haverhill, on behalf of Hannah his wife the sum of twenty five pounds. To Mary Neff the sum of twelve pounds ten shillings and to Samuel Leonardson the sum of twelve pounds ten shillings."

In view of so much corroborative testimony and circumstantial evidence, the unprejudiced mind ought to be willing to accept as true the part played by Hannah Dustan in King William's War. The subsequent history of this woman is somewhat vague and uncertain, but from her sprung an active posterity, who have done well their part in the making of New England, and particularly of New Hampshire. Not as the prototype of the fabled Amazon should we think of this woman, but rather as a stern, unyielding matron of that epoch whose prime conditions were virtue, character, and self-denial.

On motion of Mr. Woodbridge Odlin, the thanks of the Society were presented to the speaker.

The Society then adjourned to meet again at the same place, the 18th of March, instant, at 7:30 P. M.

AMOS HADLEY,

Recording Secretary.

FIFTH ADJOURNED ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, Tuesday, March 18, 1890.

The fifth adjourned sixty-seventh annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held at the Grand Army hall this day, at 7:30 P. M., the president in the chair.

Harry G. Sargent, Esq., delivered an address on "The Bradley Massacre."

MR. SARGENT'S ADDRESS.

On the north side of the highway leading from Concord to Hopkinton, about a mile and a half from the state-house, there stands a monument commonly known as the "Bradley" monument. It is a plain granite shaft, some twelve feet in height, and stands on a knoll which commands a view of the country that extends toward the south. Originally erected in 1837, for more than half a century it has stood by the roadside, exposed to all the rigors of our northern climate; but it still appears as firm and durable as the granite bed from which it was quarried. On the side facing the highway, somewhat dimmed and obscured by the action of the elements, there appears the following inscription:

This monument is
in memory of
SAMUEL BRADLEY,
JONATHAN BRADLEY,
OBADIAH PETERS,
JOHN BEAN and
JOHN LUFKIN,
Who were massacred, Aug. 11, 1746,
near this spot¹
by the Indians.
Erected 1837, by Richard Bradley, son
of the Hon. John Bradley, and
grandson of Samuel Bradley.

To the traveller as he passes along the highway, and, pausing, reads the brief record of the event which the monument is

¹ This line of the inscription on the monument is omitted in Bouton's History of Concord.

designed to perpetuate, these questions naturally occur. Who were these men? Whence came they? Whither were they bound? What were the circumstances attending their death? To answer these questions we must go backward in point of time a period of more than one hundred and fifty years, and on another continent seek for the causes which involved all the great European powers in a bloody contest, and which, transferred across the Atlantic, brought upon the English colonies in America the horrors of Indian warfare.

"It is the nature of great events to obscure the great events that came before them. The 'Seven Years' War' in Europe is seen but dimly through revolutionary convulsions and Napoleonic tempests, and the same contest in America is half lost to sight behind the storm cloud of the War of Independence." For the same reason, and to a greater extent, the war known in Europe as the "War of the Austrian Succession" and in America as "King George's War," which involved all the great continental powers of Europe and the French and English colonies in America, is overshadowed and eclipsed by the great wars which succeeded it. Yet, if it be measured by the results which flowed from it and by the alliances which grew out of it, it justly deserves to be ranked as one of the great contests of the world. It was the preliminary test of strength between England and France which culminated in the "Seven Years' War." At the close of that war England had gained control of the seas and the mastery of North America and India. "It crippled the commerce of her rival, ruined France in two continents, and blighted her as a colonial power. It made England the first of commercial nations, and prepared that vast colonial system that has planted New Englands in every quarter of the globe."

For a period of twenty-six years after the treaty of Utrecht, which was signed in 1713, there was a general suspension of hostilities upon the part of the European powers, but in 1739 this truce was broken by a declaration of war made by England against Spain on account of alleged outrages committed on English commerce. For two years this war was waged by the contending parties with no decided results, and in 1741 it

became merged in the great continental struggle known as the "War of the Austrian Succession."

This war originated in the attempt of the Emperor of Germany, Charles VI, to secure the succession to his throne to his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, who had been married to Francis of Lorraine. Although all of the great European powers had pledged themselves to maintain the agreement which insured to her the crown, yet hardly was Charles VI buried when numerous claimants arose. The Elector of Bavaria, Charles Albert, asserted his right to the Austrian states, and this claim was supported by Frederick II of Prussia. France also took up arms to support him in his efforts to obtain the imperial dignity. Numerous battles were fought, and Charles Albert was finally elected Emperor of Germany.

In her distress Maria Theresa appealed to her countrymen and to England for relief. Both were prompt in furnishing the relief prayed for. The whole country rose in arms. England granted her a subsidy, and sent troops to her succor. The war was waged with varying results until May, 1743, when Maria Theresa was successful, and was crowned in Prague.

England and France, though taking a leading part in the war, had hitherto been engaged only as auxiliaries, and, though they had met on many fields during the war, they were still nominally at peace. This unnatural state of affairs now terminated, and in March, 1744, France declared war against England, and the contest that had already devastated the fair fields of Europe was transferred to the American continent, and the French and English colonies in America were once more arrayed against each other in open hostility at the command, and to suit the selfish ends, of their European sovereigns. To the horrors of ordinary battles, however, were to be added the atrocities of Indian warfare.

The opening of this war greatly increased the alarm and anxiety which had hitherto pervaded the colonies; and particularly the frontier towns which were most exposed. As one means of removing or allaying those fears, an expedition against Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, which was the stronghold of the French, was projected and triumphantly executed by

the daring enterprise of the New England colonies. The fortress of Louisburg had been twenty-five years building, at an enormous expense to the French nation, and its great strength had given it the name of "The Dunkirk of America." It was considered as impregnable; yet it was destined to fall before the adventurous but determined efforts of raw New England militia.

This expedition originated in New Hampshire. Major William Vaughan, a son of Lieutenant-Governor Vaughan, has the honor of its origin. Major Vaughan had been engaged in the fishing business upon the "Banks," and had considerable knowledge of the eastern parts, which he had obtained from fishermen in his employ, and particularly of the harbor and town of Louisburg. He first conceived the idea of the capture of Louisburg, and proposed the taking of it in the winter when the walls, as he supposed, could easily have been scaled by means of the immense drifts of snow piled against them in that inclement season. Vaughan was tenacious of his opinions, and headstrong in carrying them out. Having made up his mind that Louisburg could be taken, he set himself about the matter in earnest. His first effort was with Governor Wentworth, who, whatever he might have thought of the feasibility of the project, knew that Massachusetts must take the initiative in the measure, and he advised him to lay his plan before Governor Shirley. Shirley was a man of energy and talent, and an ambitious man; he received the communication of Vaughan with favor, and determined to bring the matter before the legislature. In the legislature, the project was rejected; but mainly through the exertion of Vaughan, who went from store to store talking up the expedition and obtaining signatures to the legislature in favor of it, the measure was again taken up, and carried by one vote only.

The thing being determined upon in Massachusetts, Governor Wentworth entered into the affair with spirit and pressed it with all his influence. This was necessary, as the affair seemed at first to most men rather quixotic, yet after a time men enlisted for the expedition with the greatest alacrity, and in the end it acquired all the enthusiasm of a crusade. Governor

Wentworth at one time thought seriously of taking command of the forces, but his lameness and a timely hint from his friend Shirley determined him very wisely to withdraw his claims in favor of Col. Pepperell. He continued his interest and influence to the utmost, however, as will be seen from the fact that New Hampshire furnished five hundred men, or one eighth of the troops engaged in the expedition. After incredible hardships and the most determined valor on the part of all the troops, and of those from New Hampshire in particular, among whom Major Vaughan was first and foremost, Louisburg fell into the hands of the provincial forces, and Governor Wentworth received for his services, as trophies taken from the fallen fortress, two handsome brass pieces; while Vaughan, pressing his claim for his important services before the British court, died of a contagious disease unrewarded!

In this expedition, Captain Ebenezer Eastman, of Rumford, now Concord, was commander of a company raised in this vicinity. In the company which he commanded were Nathaniel Abbott, Isaac Abbott, Obadiah Peters, one Chandler, and others whose names are not known. Joseph Abbott, who died about 1850, said he always understood that his uncle, Isaac Abbott, was killed at Cape Breton, and that one Mr. Chandler, from Rumford, also died there.¹

The misfortune of the fall of Louisburg excited the French to greater exertions, and as their peculiar forte was a border warfare, carried on mainly through the efforts of their Indian allies, hordes of Indians were soon hovering around the frontiers of New England.

The "Canada Expedition," so called, was then commenced. This had for its object the conquest of Canada, and the complete subversion of the French power upon the continent. The plan was, that a squadron of ships of war and a body of land forces should be sent from England against Canada; that the troops raised in New England should join the British fleet and army at Louisburg and proceed up the river St. Lawrence; that those of New York and the other provinces at the southward should be collected at Albany, and march against Crown

¹ Potter's History of Manchester.

Point and Montreal. The management of this expedition was committed to Sir John St. Clair, in conjunction with Sir Peter Warren and Governor Shirley. St. Clair did not come to America. Warren and Shirley gave the orders while Warren was here, and afterward Commodore Knowles, who succeeded him, was joined with Shirley; but as Knowles was part of the time at Louisburg, most of the command devolved on Shirley alone.¹

Beside the danger of losing Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, there were other reasons for undertaking this expedition. The Indians, instigated by the governor of Canada, were ravaging the frontiers, destroying the fields and cattle, burning houses and mills, and carrying away the inhabitants. Though scouts and garrisons were maintained by the governments, yet to act altogether on the defensive was thought to be not only an ineffectual, but a disgraceful, mode of carrying on the war, especially after the success which had attended the arms of the colonists in their attempt against Louisburg. The continuance of such a mode of defence, it was thought, would neither dispirit the enemy nor secure the frontier from their depredations.

In this expedition Governor Wentworth entered with his accustomed alacrity. The legislature was convened, and the governor appealed to their pride, patriotism, and interest; and as a result they voted to raise a thousand men for the expedition. This was in June, and by the beginning of July eight hundred men were enlisted and ready for embarkation under Col. Theodore Atkinson, who had been appointed to the command. Meanwhile news of the arrival of a powerful French fleet and army upon the eastern coast, to retake Louisburg and break up the settlements upon the eastern coast of New England, spread consternation among the people, and completely diverted the attention of the royal governor for a time, as they had enough to do to prepare their defences at home against an attack. But the French fleet was dispersed by a storm near Cape Sable, many vessels went to the bottom and the others returned to France, thus relieving the colonies from their fears.

¹ Bouton's History of Concord.

It was too late to proceed upon the intended expedition, and the New Hampshire regiment went into winter quarters upon the shores of Lake Winnepesaukee.

While these troops were being raised and the preparations were being made for the invasion of Canada, the Indians were not daunted or alarmed. On the contrary, on the 27th of June, 1746, and while these troops were being marshalled at Portsmouth, they made a successful attack upon a party of five men at Rochester, who were at work in a field. These men discharged their guns at one Indian, who had fired upon them by connivance with his comrades, to draw their fire, and then were forced by overpowering numbers to take refuge in a deserted house. Here they succeeded in keeping their assailants in check for awhile, but soon the Indians tore off the roof of the building and killed Joseph Hurd, Joseph Richards, John Wentworth, and Gresham Downs; the fifth, John Richards, they succeeded in taking prisoner. The same day they attacked another party at work in a field at no great distance, but all escaped except a boy, Jonathan Door, whom they captured. These attacks, made within twenty miles of Portsmouth, produced the greatest consternation, and several scouts were sent to protect the frontiers. On July 14, Captain Daniel Ladd, of Exeter, was dispatched with a company on foot to protect the frontiers at Penacook and Canterbury. He marched with about thirty men. He ranged the woods by way of Massabesic to Penacook, and back by way of Suncook and Nottingham. But nothing was seen of the Indians at this time, although they were doubtless in the neighborhood in considerable numbers. Well acquainted with the swamps and lurking-places, they kept out of sight. Captain Ladd returned to Exeter, and on the 30th day of July he dismissed his men until the 5th day of August.

While the other settlements in New Hampshire had been suffering from the depredations and massacres of the Indians, the little district of Rumford, now the city of Concord, from the time it was granted in 1725 up to 1742, was singularly exempt from all such misfortunes. Originally granted in 1725 by the Massachusetts legislature as the Plantation of Penacook,

it had remained under that name until 1734, when it was incorporated as a town under the name of Rumford. The origin of this name it is impossible to determine, but it is supposed to have been taken from that of a parish in England, from which some of the proprietors originated.

The first settlers of Penacook were carefully selected men. They were principally from Haverhill, Andover, and Newbury, Massachusetts. They were brave, law-abiding, God-fearing, and were chosen from among their fellows by a committee of the court, to establish a model community. They came to stay. They located Main street substantially as it is now, divided the land into house-lots and farms, cleared away the forests, and built log houses and a meeting-house. The meeting-house was the first building erected, being built in 1727, months before the first family moved into the settlement. It was intended, said Joseph B. Walker, in his article in the *Granite Monthly* of March, 1881, "not only as a bulwark against error and ungodliness, but against the fierce assaults of the savages as well.

"Tradition has preserved the location of this, the first meeting-house in Concord, which stood beneath the arches of the primeval forest, upon the north side of the brook now concealed beneath the roadway near the corner of Main and Chapel streets, on the spot where the store of William P. Ford & Co. now stands. Of necessity, and appropriately, as well, it was built of logs. It was one story in height, forty feet long by twenty-five feet broad, and its rough walls were pierced with small, square windows, sufficiently high from the ground to protect its occupants from the missiles of Indian foes."¹

Entirely unmolested by Indians, great progress had been made by the inhabitants in their settlement in clearing and cultivating their lands, and improving the roads and the structure of their houses. But in 1739 apprehensions of danger were entertained, and the town by vote ordered that a garrison should be built around the house of Rev. Mr. Walker, and that five pounds should be granted Barachias Farnum, to

¹Quoted from article of Joseph B. Walker, published in *Granite Monthly*, March, 1881.

enable him to build a flanker in order to defend his mills on Turkey river.

About the year 1742, according to tradition, the wife of Mr. Jonathan Eastman, who resided on the Hopkinton road opposite the house of Mr. Aaron Shute (very near the place where Dr. Coit, of St. Paul's school, now resides), was taken by a party of Indians and carried to Canada. She was, however, soon redeemed by her husband and restored to her family.

The reduction of the fortress at Louisburg had only changed the scene of war. The Indians poured forth from Canada, and with horrible barbarity carried on the work of destruction. The inhabitants of Rumford felt the general shock, and sought for means of defence and safety. At each parish meeting, from 1744 to 1747, they chose some person to represent to the government, either of New Hampshire or Massachusetts, or both, the deplorable circumstances they were in on account of their being exposed to immediate danger both from the French and Indian enemy. The language which they instructed their agents to use was, "We request of them such aid, both with respect to men and military stores, as to their great wisdom may seem meet, and which may be sufficient, with the Divine blessing, vigorously to repel all attempts of our said enemies."

In a deposition given by Isaac Chandler and Jacob Pillsbury, of Rumford, in the Bow controversy, in 1757, they reveal the situation of affairs in the settlement at the period we are considering. They state "that there was no way for the people, in their power, to defend themselves against their Indian enemies, but by assembling together by common agreement, as many families as conveniently could, and first erecting a fort or garrison sufficient to contain them, and then building within the same a house for each family to screen themselves from the inclemency of the weather. And all this they did at their own expense. Moreover, by being obliged to keep watch and ward, and to work together in large companies for the greater safety during the summer; and their being frequently called from their business—either by some assault, or the discovery of the Indians—and other avocations occasioned by the war, the deponents really believe that the said inhabitants lost near one

half of their time during the most busy and valuable part of the year."¹

In answer to the petitions of the settlers, early in 1745 two small companies of scouts were raised by authority of Governor Wentworth under the direction of Colonel Benjamin Rolfe, of which Captain John Chandler, of Rumford, had command of one, consisting of ten men, and Captain Jeremiah Clough, of Canterbury, had command of the other, consisting of five men. The Massachusetts government also sent a small detachment of men from Andover and another from Billerica, who were stationed here in 1745. Under authority of Governor Wentworth, garrisons were established at different points in the town, and men with their families assigned to them, as was most convenient.

These garrisons, or forts, were built of hewed logs, which lay flat upon each other. The ends, being fitted for the purpose, were inserted in grooves set in large posts, erected at each corner. They enclosed an area of several square rods, were raised to the height of a common dwelling-house, and at two or more of the corners were placed boxes where sentinels kept watch. In some cases, several small buildings, erected for the temporary accommodation of families, were within the enclosure. Houses not connected with garrisons were all deserted by their owners, and the furniture removed. In the day-time men went forth to their labors in companies, always carrying their guns with them, and one or more of their number placed on guard. If the Indians were discovered approaching, alarm guns were fired, and the report answered from fort to fort. On the Sabbath the men went armed to the house of worship, stacked their guns around a post in the middle, and sat down with bullet-pouch and powder-horn slung across their shoulders, while their pastor, the Rev. Timothy Walker, who is said to have had the best gun in the parish, prayed and preached with his gun standing in the pulpit.

The original authority under which the garrisons were established in 1746 was as follows. (It is somewhat lengthy, but on account of the many descendants of the original settlers now

¹ Bouton's History of Concord.

living in Concord, I have concluded that it would be interesting to give it in full, including the names.)

“Province of New Hampshire.

“We, the subscribers, being appointed a committee of militia for settling the garrisons in the frontier towns and plantations in the sixth regiment of militia in this province, by his excellency, Benning Wentworth, Esq., governor, having viewed the situation and inquired into the circumstances of the district of Rumford, do hereby state and appoint the following garrisons, viz. :

“The garrison round the house of the Reverend Timothy Walker to be one of the garrisons in said Rumford, and that the following inhabitants, with their families, viz. : Captain John Chandler, Abraham Bradley, Samuel Bradley, John Webster, Nathaniel Rolfe, Joseph Pudney, Isaac Walker, Jr., and Obadiah Foster, be, and hereby are, ordered and stated at that garrison.”

This garrison was located where the house of Joseph B. Walker now stands, on North Main street.

“Also the garrison round the house of Captain Ebenezer Eastman to be one garrison, and that the following inhabitants with their families, viz. : Ebenezer Virgin, Ebenezer Eastman, Jr., Philip Eastman, Jeremiah Eastman, Timothy Bradley, Jeremiah Dresser, Philip Kimball, Nathan Stevens, Judah Trumble, Joseph Eastman, Jr., Nathaniel Smith, Daniel Annis, and William Curry, be, and hereby are, ordered and stated at said garrison.”

This garrison was located in East Concord, very near the spot where the railroad depot now stands. The shell of the old building, which constituted the garrison, is still in existence, it having been moved from its original location, and now forms a part of the Mountain House, kept by Hugh Tallant.

“Also that the garrison round the house of Mr. Henry Lovejoy be one garrison, and that the following inhabitants, with their families, viz. : Henry Lovejoy, James Abbot, James Abbot, Jr., Reuben Abbot, Amos Abbott, Ephraim Farnum, Zeb-ediah Farnum, Joseph Farnum, Abiel Chandler, and James Peters, be, and hereby are, stated at said garrison.”

This garrison was located in what is now the village of West

Concord, nearly opposite the brick school-house and on the spot where the house occupied by Jeremiah Quinn now stands. The house is now owned by the Concord Water-Works.

"Also that the garrison round the house of Mr. Jonathan Eastman be one garrison, and that the following inhabitants with their families, viz.: Jonathan Eastman, Amos Eastman, Jeremiah Bradley, Seaborn Peters, Abner Hoit, Jacob Hoit, Timothy Burbanks, and Isaac Citizen, be, and hereby are, ordered and stated at said garrison."

This garrison was located on the Hopkinton road, on the south side thereof, and was very near the spot where the house of Dr. Coit now stands. This was the garrison to which the Bradleys and others were going at the time they were massacred.

"Also that the garrison round the house of Lieut. Jeremiah Stickney be one garrison, and that the following inhabitants and their families, viz.: Jeremiah Stickney, Nathaniel Abbot, Ephraim Carter, Ezra Carter, Joseph Eastman, Samuel Eastman, Joseph Eastman, 3d, William Stickney, Thomas Stickney, Nathaniel Abbott, Jr., Joseph Carter, Edward Abbot, Aaron Stevens, George Hull, Edward West, Lampson Colby, James Osgood, Timothy Clemens, Jacob Pillsbury, and Stephen Hoit, be, and hereby are, ordered and stated at that garrison."

This garrison was located where the house occupied by Dr. Hiland now stands.

"Also that the garrison round Joseph Hall's house be one garrison, and that the following inhabitants, with their families, viz.: Col. Benjamin Rolfe, Joseph Hall, Ebenezer Hall, David Foster, Isaac Waldron, Patrick Garvin, Joseph Pudney, William Pudney, Henry Pudney, John Merrill, Thomas Merrill, John Merrill, Jr., Moses Merrill, Lot Colby, and Jacob Potter be, and hereby are, ordered and stated at this garrison."

This garrison was located south of the highway bridge which crosses over the track of the Concord Railroad near the gas-house, on or very near the spot where the new house of Ransom Parker now stands.

"Also that the garrison round Timothy Walker, Jr.'s house be one garrison, and that Timothy Walker, Jr., David Evans,

Samuel Pudney, John Pudney, Jr., Matthew Stanley, Isaac Walker, Abraham Colby, Jacob Shute, Daniel Chase, Daniel Chase, Jr., Abraham Kimball, Richard Hazelton, George Abbott, Nathaniel Rix, Benjamin Abbott, Stephen Farrington, Nathaniel West, William Walker, Aaron Kimball, Samuel Gray, James Rogers, and Samuel Rogers, be, and hereby are, stated at that garrison."

This garrison was located on Main street, on the west side, just south of the house now occupied by Charles H. Thorndike.

"And, inasmuch as the inhabitants who reside in the garrison round the house of Mr. George Abbott, the garrison round the house of Mr. Edward Abbott, and the garrison round the house of Mr. James Osgood, have as yet made no provision for house room and conveniences in the respective garrisons where they are placed, for themselves and families, and the season of the year is so much demanding their labor for their necessary support that renders it difficult to move immediately—Therefore—that they, for the present, and until January next, or until further order, have leave, and be continued in the several garrisons in which they now are, and so long as there stated to attend the necessary duty of watching, warding, etc., equally, as if the same had been determined standing garrisons.

JOSEPH BLANCHARD	} Com., &c.
BENJAMIN ROLFE	
ZACHEUS LOVEWELL	

"Rumford, May 15—1746."

The garrison around Edward Abbott's house was located at the corner of Main and Montgomery streets where the house of Eliphalet S. Nutter now stands.

The present barn of Mr. Nutter is the original garrison, established in 1746, and built some years prior to that time. It formerly stood where Mr. Nutter's house now stands, but was moved to the rear when the house was built. The massive white oak timbers inside of the building are apparently as sound as when they were hewn. The original door of the garrison is now in Mr. Nutter's possession. The first white child ever born in Concord was born in this building.

The garrison around the house of George Abbott was located

near the corner of Main and Fayette streets, where the house of Mrs. Lund, occupied by Charles G. Remick, now stands. The garrison round the house of James Osgood was located on the site of the building now occupied by the *Daily Monitor* and the *Independent Statesman*, at the corner of Main and Depot streets.

In connection with these garrisons, I desire earnestly to urge upon the attention of the members of this society and of all others who are interested in the early history of our city, the propriety of preserving, by durable monuments, the location of these old garrisons and the first meeting-house. In the preparation of this address, I have found considerable difficulty in accurately identifying at the present day their location as they existed in 1746. The changes in the ownership of property since Bouton's History was written make the references to locations there given quite uncertain, and I have been obliged to rely upon the memory of the old inhabitants in order to find the places there referred to. The garrison around the house now occupied by Joseph B. Walker is a notable exception, however, as Mr. Walker has caused to be set in the ground on the north side of the front entrance to his house a small stone, on which is inscribed the fact that this was one of the garrisons in 1746, and the names of the people who were assigned thereto. I trust that the example which he has furnished in this respect may be followed by the owners of property where the other garrisons and the meeting-house were located.

Such was the state of the little settlement of Rumford, in August, 1746. Comprising in all about one hundred houses, it extended from below the lower bridge, which crosses the river on the south, along the line of Main street, which was then located substantially as it is now, to and including the village of West Concord on the north. On the west a few houses on the Hopkinton road, and on the east a small number of houses in the village of East Concord, were scattered. The inhabitants, removed from their houses, were housed in the garrisons which have already been mentioned. An attack from the Indians was daily expected, and a period of tragical interest in the history of the settlement was now at hand.

The Indian village of St. Francis, which lay some thirty miles above the source of the Connecticut river, was the headquarters of the savages who committed the worst depredations on the border towns of New England.

A large body of Indians, supposed to have come from St. Francis, taking advantage of the absence of troops, made preparations for an attack upon Rumford. Their intention was to attack the people while in church on the Sabbath, the 10th of August. Meanwhile the most of Captain Ladd's company, which had been dismissed at Exeter, July 30, had reassembled, and came into the town on Friday, a portion of them passing on to Canterbury, while others went into the garrisons. On Sunday, the 10th of August, the Indians lay in the swamp near the meeting-house, waiting to attack the people in the church. One party of them was concealed in a thicket back of the house where Dr. Samuel Morrill formerly lived, on Main street, being the house this side of where John Morrill, the jeweller, now lives. Another was hid in the bushes north-west, between the meeting-house and where John H. Stewart, the tailor, now lives. Some few of the Indians, it is said, were seen in the time of worship by a little girl—Abigail Carter, sister of the first Dr. Ezra Carter; but she did not make known the discovery until the meeting closed, when the people marched out in a body with their guns. The presence of Captain Ladd's company, and the fact that the men came to church well armed, disheartened the Indians, and they retired without making their contemplated attack.

But the next day, Monday, the 11th of August, they were more successful. Probably anticipating that some of Captain Ladd's company were to pass to the garrison of Jonathan Eastman on the Hopkinton road, they lay in ambush near the path for such as might pass that way. On the morning of Monday, August 11th, Lieutenant Jonathan Bradley of Captain Ladd's company, and seven others, started for Eastman's fort, which, as we have already seen, was located very near the spot on which the house of Dr. Coit now stands. According to tradition, they passed up a road or a path which was located where Franklin street now extends, and they had proceeded about a

mile and a half from the meeting-house, and a few rods beyond where the monument now stands, when they were fired on by the Indians. One Daniel Gilman had gone forward to fire at a hawk seen on a dry stub by the path some distance ahead, and the rest of the party were leisurely following, and awaiting the falling of the hawk. Obadiah Peters was somewhat in advance of most of the party, and had set his gun aside, awaiting the approach of the rest of the party. The Indians, supposing they were discovered, arose from the ambush and fired upon Peters and the others, and a bloody hand-to-hand fight occurred. For the details of the fight which ensued we are indebted to the journal of Abner Clough, a member of Captain Ladd's company, from whose quaint but expressive language I quote :

“ Captain Ladd came up to Rumford town and that was on the tenth day of August, and on the eleventh day, Lieutenant Jonathan Bradley took six of Captain Ladd's men, and was in company with one Obadiah Peters, that belonged to Captain Melvin's company of the Massachusetts, and was going about two miles and a half from Rumford town to a garrison, and when they had gone about a mile and a half, they were shot upon by thirty or forty Indians, if not more, as it was supposed, and killed down dead Lieutenant Jonathan Bradley and Samuel Bradley, John Lufkin and John Bean and this Obadiah Peters. These five men were killed down dead on the spot, and most of them were stripped. Two of them were stripped stark naked, and were very much cut and stabbed and disfigured ; and Sergeant Alexander Roberts and William Stickney were taken captive. It was supposed there was an Indian killed where they had the fight, for this Daniel Gilman, who made his escape, saith that he was about sixty rods before these men when they were shot upon, and he says the Indians shot three guns first. He says he thought our men shot at a deer ; he says that he ran back about forty rods upon a hill so that he could see over upon the other hill, where the Indians lie, and shot upon the men ; and he says, as ever he came upon the hill so as to see over upon the other hill, he heard Lieutenant Jonathan Bradley speak and say *Lord have mercy on me ;—Fight !* In a moment his gun went off and three more guns of our men

were shot, and then the Indians rose up and shot a volley and run out into the path, and making all sorts of howling and yelling, and he did not stay long to see it, he saith. It was supposed that John Lufkin was upon the front and Obadiah Peters upon the rear, and that they shot down this Lufkin and Peters the first shot, as they were in the path about twelve or fourteen rods apart; and they shot Samuel Bradley, as he was about twelve feet before where this Obadiah Peters lay, and wounded him so that the blood started every step he took. He went about five rods right in the path, and they shot him right through his powder-horn as it hung by his side, and so through his body—and there lay these three men lying in the path; and Lieut. Bradley run out of the path about two rods right in amongst the Indians: he was shot through the wrist. It was supposed he killed the Indian; it was supposed that he fought—as he stood there in the spot where he was killed—till the Indians cut his head almost all to pieces; and John Bean run about six rods out of the path, on the other side of the way, and then was shot right through his body;—so that there were none of these men that went one or two steps after they were shot, excepting this Samuel Bradley that was shot as above said. And there seemed to be as much blood where the Indian was shot as there was where any one of the men were killed. It was supposed the men laid there about two hours after they were killed before anybody came there. We did not go till there came a post down from the fort, three quarters of a mile beyond where the men lay and were killed. The reason we did not go sooner was because we did not hear the guns. I suppose the reason that we did not hear the guns was because the wind wa'n't fair to hear. We went up to the men, and ranged the woods awhile, after these captives, and then brought the dead down to town in a cart, and buried the dead men this day. These men, when they went away in the morning, said they intended to be at home about twelve o'clock, in order to go to Canterbury in the afternoon, or at least to get fit to go. It was supposed that these men, some of them, rid double on horses when they were killed. On the twelfth day [which was the next morning after the massacre] early in the

morning, went up and took the blood of the Indian, and followed along by the drag and blood of the Indian about a mile, very plain, till we came within about fifteen rods of a small river, and then we could see no more sign of the Indian, but we tracked the Indians along down the river, about twenty or thirty rods, and there were falls where they went over. It was supposed there could not be less than fifty or sixty Indians."

The following is the narrative of Mr. Reuben Abbott, who drove the cart, that contained the dead bodies, from the place of massacre to James Osgood's garrison :

"I, with Abiel Chandler, was at work in the Fan, near Sugar Ball, making hay, on Monday morning, August 11th, 1746, then in my twenty-fourth year. We heard three guns fired at Parson Walker's fort, which were the appointed signal of alarm at the approach or apprehension of the Indians. On hearing the alarm guns we ran up to the garrison, and found the soldiers who were stationed there, and such men as could be spared had gone to where the men were killed. We followed on and took the foot path [by Captain Emery's near the prison], and arrived at the spot where the bodies lay, as soon as those did who went around on the main road. When we arrived near the brook that runs through the farm formerly occupied by one Mitchell, on the east side of the brook we found Samuel Bradley, stripped naked, scalped and lying on his face in the road, within half a rod of the bridge over that brook. He was shot through the body, and supposed through his lungs; the ball struck and spoiled his powder-horn, which the Indians left. He was not otherwise wounded by the Indians than shot and scalped. Jonathan Bradley lay about ten feet out of the road, on the south side, and about two rods east of the brook. He was lieutenant in Captain Ladd's company, from Exeter, and a number of years older than Samuel. He was not wounded by the Indians in their fire, and immediately after the Indians had first fired he ordered his men to fight them. As but few of the Indians fired the first time, Jonathan supposed that he and his six men could manage them, and they fired at the few who had risen up from their ambush. Immediately the whole body of Indians, about one hundred in num-

ber, rose up and fired. Jonathan, seeing their number and receiving their fire, ordered his men to run and take care of themselves. By this time Obadiah Peters, John Bean, John Lufkin, and Samuel Bradley were killed. The Indians then rushed upon Jonathan Bradley, William Stickney, and Alexander Roberts,—took Stickney and Roberts prisoners, and offered Jonathan Bradley good quarter. But he refused to receive quarter, and fought with his gun against that cloud of Indians, until they struck him on the face repeatedly with their tomahawks, cut a number of gashes in his face, one large gash running obliquely across his forehead and nose down between his eyes, another on the side of his head, and one on the back part of his head, which entered his skull and brought him to the ground. The Indians then dispatched him, took off his scalp, and stripped him nearly naked. Obadiah Peters we found shot through the head. Bean and Lufkin were shot, and ran from the brook toward the main road about six rods and fell within a rod of each other on the north side of the road as now travelled. Four of the Indians were killed, and two wounded who were carried away on biers. The soldiers from the garrison were too late to avenge the lives of these brave men. Before their approach, the Indians fled like cowards, leaving many of their packs and various things which the soldiers took.”

Mr. Abbott further relates that the bodies of the dead were laid side by side in a cart, which had been sent up, with a yoke of oxen, to convey them down to the main street. As all others refused, Mr. Abbott himself drove the team down to Mr. James Osgood's garrison. There was a great multitude of men, women, and children collected to see the dreadful sight: they wept aloud. Mothers lifted up their young children to see the dead bodies in the cart.

The next day they were all buried in two graves near what was then the north-west corner of the old burying ground. The Bradleys were buried in one grave, and Lufkin, Peters, and Bean in another. Bouton, in his history of Concord, published in 1856, says,—“The spot where the bodies were buried cannot now be exactly identified, but it was very near the place now

enclosed and occupied as the burial plat of the Bradley and Ayer family."

Philip Eastman, son of Captain Ebenezer Eastman, married Abiah Bradley, sister of the Bradleys who were killed, and at that time lived on the farm where John L. Tallant now lives. When the news of the massacre reached them, Mr. Eastman hastily saddled his horse, rode up to his door and said, "Come, Abiah, let us go." She replied, "I am ready," and at a single bound sprang upon the horse's back behind her husband, and then they rode on full canter down to Capt. Eastman's fort. It was a common saying in those times, "*It takes a hard blow to kill a Bradley.*"¹

Lieutenant Jonathan Bradley was a son of Abraham Bradley, who came from Haverhill, Massachusetts, to Penacook in 1730. He married Susanna Folsom, of Exeter, and at first settled on the farm with his father, but afterwards disposed of his property in Penacook, and moved to Exeter a year or two before the time of the massacre. He was a lieutenant in Captain Daniel Ladd's company, and only two weeks before, as appears from Clough's journal, had been very sick, and was not yet entirely recovered. He was a brave man, about thirty years of age, and when he met the Indians would neither flee nor fall alive into their hands. His ancestors and relatives in Haverhill had had a bitter experience of Indian cruelty. The house of his grandfather, Joseph Bradley, was burned by the Indians, February 8, 1704, and his wife, Jonathan's grandmother, was carried into captivity, and suffered nameless cruelties. Knowing the sufferings which his immediate ancestor had experienced, it is no wonder that he refused to receive quarter, and that he chose death rather than captivity.

Samuel Bradley, brother of Jonathan, resided at Rumford with his father, Abraham, after Jonathan removed to Exeter. He was a young man of great enterprise and promise. The anguish of his wife, on hearing of his death and seeing his mangled body, was intense and overwhelming. His little son, John, then less than four years old, was shown the bloody bodies of the slain as they lay together at Osgood's garrison,

¹ Bouton's History of Concord.

and retained through life a lively impression of the scene. The impression was so strong that a *terror of the Indians* haunted him for many years afterwards.

Obadiah Peters was of Rumford, a son of Seaborn Peters, one of the first settlers. He had been out in the Louisburg expedition, and was at the capture of Cape Breton the year before his death, one of Captain Ebenezer Eastman's company. About the time he was killed he appears to have been a soldier in the Rumford company of militia commanded by Captain Nathaniel Abbott, as he is named in his muster roll, and his death is there recorded. Peters's father and family lived near Eastman's fort, to which the party were going at the time they were attacked and massacred by the Indians.

All that is known of John Bean is, that he was from Brentwood, and of John Lufkin, that he was from Kingston.

William Stickney, who was taken captive, was a son of Captain Jeremiah Stickney of Rumford, and a brother of Colonel Thomas Stickney. After about one year's captivity in Canada, he found means to escape with a friendly Indian, and proceeded on his way home to within about one days journey of the white settlement, when they fell short of provisions. The Indian directed Stickney to light a fire and encamp, while he would go in quest of game. After Stickney had prepared his camp, he also went out to hunt, and, in attempting to cross a river on a log, fell in and was drowned. This was the story the Indian told when he came to Rumford; but from the circumstance of his being dressed in Stickney's clothes, many were led to doubt the truth of it.

Alexander Roberts, who was captured, made his escape after being carried to Canada. On his return to Rumford the next year, he stated that four Indians were killed and several wounded—two mortally, who were conveyed away on litters and soon after died. Two they buried in the great swamp, under large hemlock logs, and two others in the mud, some distance up the river, where their bones were afterwards found. Roberts claimed a bounty from the government for having, as he said, killed one of the Indians at the time of the attack, whose bones he afterwards found. On the 19th of November, 1747, the

General Assembly of New Hampshire passed the following resolution, which was approved by the governor :

“Whereas, Alexander Roberts and others have been carefully examined upon oath, of and concerning a human skull bone, which said Roberts and company found at or near the place where said Roberts supposes he killed an Indian man, and where he saw said Indian buried ; and, inasmuch as it appears to the House, upon the evidence produced, that the said skull is really the skull of the aforesaid Indian : Therefore,

“Voted, That there be paid, out of the money in the public treasury, unto the said Alexander Roberts and company, the sum of seventy-five pounds, in the following proportions, viz : To the said Alexander Roberts, fifteen pounds ; to Daniel Gilman, seven pounds, ten shillings ; to the widows of Jonathan and Samuel Bradley, each eleven pounds, five shillings ; and to the heirs or legal representatives of Obadiah Peters, John Lufkin, John Bean, and William Stickney, each seven pounds and ten shillings.”

The initials of the names of the persons who were massacred were soon after marked on a large tree which stood near the spot, and this was the only monument of the event for many years. The monument which now stands as the memento of the tragic affair was erected in 1837 by Richard Bradley, grandson of the Samuel Bradley who was killed, and father of the present Moses Bradley. For several years previous to its erection, it lay in the field on the south side of the road, on account of a dispute between Richard Bradley and Mr. Kimball, who was at that time the owner of the land on which the massacre occurred. Bradley endeavored to purchase the land, but Kimball refused to sell the exact tract desired, and the monument was finally erected a few rods east of the actual location of the massacre, and on the opposite side of the road.

The exercises attending its erection took place August 22, 1837, which was the ninety-first anniversary of the massacre. A large number of people from Concord and the surrounding towns were present. A hymn composed by the Reverend John Pierpont was sung, and after prayer by Reverend Nathaniel Bouton, an eloquent address was delivered by Mr. Asa McFarland.

The original petition of the inhabitants of Rumford, to the governor, council, and assembly, for succor against the Indians, was read by Richard Bradley. An historical ballad, by Mrs. Mary C. Clark, of Concord, was read. The exercises concluded with prayer by Rev. E. E. Cummings, who was for so many years the pastor of the Pleasant St. Baptist church, and who has recently deceased.

Such is the story of the tragedy which the monument on the Hopkinton road commemorates. In its statement I can claim no credit for originality. Its history has been written by those who were much nearer, in point of time, to the event than we are at the present day. I have endeavored to give a plain and simple narrative of the facts and the circumstances surrounding them, with no attempt at embellishment or oratorical display. If I have succeeded in presenting to your minds a picture of the little settlement of Rumford as it then existed, and of the circumstances which led up to and culminated in the massacre, I have accomplished my undertaking.

Near a century and a half has elapsed since that morning in August when the brave defenders of Rumford went forth to their death. Within a short distance of the spot which is consecrated with their blood, institutions of learning lift their towers to the morning breeze. The forests, through which the wild beasts and the savage Indian prowled, have been cleared away, and the products of civilization are seen on every hand. The town of Rumford has become the capital city of a state which since then has become one of the pillars of a great and prosperous nation. The power of France on this continent is extinguished, and no more can she sound the tocsin of war that shall summon to arms the people of New England. The problem of the red man and the white man has been solved, and the very name of Indian is almost a tradition in this part of the country. But although these mighty changes have taken place, and although in due course of time the monument which records their fate will dissolve and crumble into dust, yet these brave men will not be forgotten. More enduring than any monument of granite or of bronze is the memory of their deeds in the hearts of a grateful people.

Isaac W. Hammond, chairman of Committee on New Members, nominated the following persons to be members of the Society, who were elected by ballot by the requisite constitutional majority :

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Albert Edward Bodwell, Concord ; Charles Henry Sanders, Penacook ; Haven Palmer, M. D., Plymouth.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Rev. Henry Allen Hazen, A. M., Auburndale, Mass.

The Society then adjourned to meet again at the call of the president.

• AMOS HADLEY,
Recording Secretary.

ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, Wednesday, June 11, 1890.

The sixty-eighth annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held in the Society's building this day, at 11 o'clock A. M., the Hon. Samuel C. Eastman, president, in the chair.

The records of the proceedings of the Society's meetings for the past year were read by the recording secretary, and, on motion, were approved.

The report of the recording secretary was read, and, on motion, approved.

THE REPORT.

The recording secretary reports that during the past year the following named persons have signified acceptance of membership in the Society :

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

George E. Todd, Mrs. Annette M. R. Cressy, J. T. Mahaney, Charles R. Morrison, Frank P. Andrews, Cornelius E. Clifford, John Ballard, Mrs. Harriet Newell Eaton, Concord ;

Walter M. Parker, Frederick Smyth, Mrs. Marion Smyth, Marshall P. Hall, Manchester; James W. Patterson, Hanover; George Peabody Little, Pembroke; W. A. Fergusson, Lancaster; Alvah W. Sulloway, Franklin; Mrs. Anne E. Baer, Salmon Falls; Haven Palmer, M. D., Plymouth.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Edward H. Elwell, Portland, Me.; George E. Littlefield, Boston, Mass.; John Edwin Mason, M. D., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Henry Allen Hazen, A. M., Auburndale, Mass.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Mellen Chamberlain, William W. Clapp, Boston, Mass.; Prof. Oliver P. Hubbard, New York, N. Y.; W. Noel Sainsbury, B. F. Stevens, London, England.

Respectfully presented:

AMOS HADLEY,
Recording Secretary.

On motion of Hon. John Kimball, the president appointed a committee, consisting of John Kimball, Lyman D. Stevens, and S. G. Gould, to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

Hon. Amos Hadley, recording secretary for the past sixteen years, declined a renomination for said office.

The president presented a communication from Hon. George L. Balcom, declining a renomination as vice-president of the Society.

On motion, J. E. Pecker, Sylvester Dana, and Charles R. Morrison were appointed by the president a committee to nominate new members.

Mr. J. B. Walker offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That we sincerely regret the absence from our meeting this day of Mr. Isaac W. Hammond, our librarian, and we hereby tender to him our sincere sympathy in his present severe illness.

The report of William P. Fiske, treasurer, was read, and, on motion, accepted and placed on file.

To the New Hampshire Historical Society:

The treasurer respectfully submits the following report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending June 10, 1890:

RECEIPTS.

Balance June 10, 1889,	\$10,019.40
Cash received from initiation fees,	45.00
“ “ assessments,	363.00
“ “ interest of funds,	582.46
“ “ bond paid,	1,000.00
“ “ books and pamphlets sold,	90.73
“ “ state appropriation,	500.00
	<hr/> \$12,600.59

EXPENDITURES.

To paid I. W. Hammond, salary,	\$267.50
“ “ labor on vol. 9,	65.00
“ R. P. Staniels & Co., insurance,	45.82
“ investment and accrued interest,	1,014.75
“ B. F. Stevens, London, Eng.,	100.00
“ Ira C. Evans, printing vol. 9 Proceedings,	463.00
“ Crawford & Stockbridge,	81.25
“ Republican Press Association,	23.79
“ Otis G. Hammond,	8.25
“ Ira C. Evans,	17.75
“ Silsby & Son,	75.12
“ Democratic Press Association,	14.00
“ postage,	4.00
“ books purchased,	8.50
“ rent of hall,	15.00
“ sundries,	12.50
	<hr/> \$2,216.23
	<hr/> \$10,384.36

Permanent funds,	\$9,090.18
Current funds,	1,294.18
	<hr/> \$10,384.36

WM. P. FISKE, *Treasurer.*

CONCORD, N. H., June 11, 1890.

I have this day examined the accounts of William P. Fiske, treasurer of the New Hampshire Historical Society, and find them correctly cast and properly vouched for.

ISAAC K. GAGE, *Auditor.*

The report of Isaac W. Hammond, librarian, was read, and, on motion, accepted and placed on file. (The meagreness of the report is owing to the illness of the librarian.)

Acquisitions in the year 1889-'90.

By purchase, bound volumes,	8
“ “ pamphlets,	292
“ donation, bound volumes,	182
“ exchange, “	20
“ “ pamphlets,	18
Box of N. H. newspapers from Gen. B. F. Butler.	
Whole number for the year of bound volumes,	210
Whole number of bound volumes in the library,	11,314

ISAAC W. HAMMOND, *Librarian*,
by Otis G. Hammond.

Hon. J. B. Walker, of the standing committee, submitted an oral report concerning the boundaries of the Society's lot, and, on motion, it was accepted.

Hon. Charles H. Bell, who had been constituted a committee to procure the “Sullivan Papers” from the estate of the late Thomas C. Amory, of Boston, submitted an oral report, which, on motion, was accepted; and also presented these resolutions, preamble, and votes, which were, on motion, passed:

Whereas, Miss R. A. Amory, of Boston, Mass., a grand-niece of Gen. John Sullivan of the Revolution, has generously determined to carry out the intentions of her brother, the late Hon. T. C. Amory, by giving to this Society, on certain conditions, the *Four Volumes of Manuscript Correspondence of said Gen. Sullivan*;—therefore,

Voted, That this Society gratefully accept the gift of said manuscripts upon the said conditions, and agree to perform the same, viz.,—

I. The said manuscripts are to be kept always, when not in use, in a fire-proof safe or vault in the building occupied by the Society, and not to be allowed out of the building to which said safe is connected, at any time whatever.

II. The said manuscripts, or any of them, are not to be allowed out of the possession of the Society.

III. The relations or connections of Gen. Sullivan may have free access to said manuscripts at all reasonable times.

IV. The said manuscripts, or any of them, shall never be lent, sold, or otherwise disposed of by the Society; and a breach of any of these conditions shall work a forfeiture of said gift, and said manuscripts shall be thereupon returned, upon request, to Miss R. A. Amory, or those claiming under her will, or as her next of kin.

Voted, That the thanks of this Society be presented to Miss R. A. Amory for her valuable donation of papers so important to a correct understanding of the history of the state and the country, and especially of the eminent New Hampshire patriot and soldier, who was one of the first to take up arms in the cause of liberty, and gave the best of his life to the military and civic service of state and nation.

On motion of Hon. Charles H. Bell, it was voted that an attested copy of the foregoing preamble and vote be conveyed to Miss R. A. Amory, of Boston.

Hon. John Kimball, from the committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, made the following report, which, on motion, was accepted, and the nominated gentlemen were severally elected by ballot according to the by-laws:

President.

Hon. SAMUEL C. EASTMAN.

Vice-Presidents.

Hon. JOHN J. BELL,
AMOS HADLEY, Esq.

Recording Secretary.

Hon. CHARLES R. CORNING.

Corresponding Secretary.

Hon. SYLVESTER DANA.

Treasurer.

WILLIAM P. FISKE, Esq.

Librarian.

Rev. CHARLES L. TAPPAN.

Necrologist.

Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER.

Library Committee.

JOHN C. ORDWAY, Esq.,
Hon. SAMUEL C. EASTMAN,
J. E. PECKER, Esq.

Publishing Committee.

Hon. CHARLES H. BELL,
ISAAC W. HAMMOND, Esq.,¹
Hon. GEORGE L. BALCOM.

Standing Committee.

Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER,
J. C. A. HILL, Esq.,
Gen. HOWARD L. PORTER.

Auditor.

ISAAC K. GAGE, Esq.

Hon. John J. Bell presented the following resolution, which was, on motion, adopted :

Resolved, That the president appoint a committee of three to select an orator for the next annual meeting, and to provide for such other literary exercises as may be deemed advisable during the coming year.

The president appointed as such committee, Hon. John J. Bell, Hon. Lyman D. Stevens, Amos Hadley, Esq.

On motion of Mr. J. B. Walker, it was voted that an assessment of three dollars be levied on each member for the current year.

Discussion ensued concerning the care of the "Sullivan Papers," and, on motion of Hon. Sylvester Dana, the president appointed a committee of three to take the matter into consideration and report to this meeting.

¹ Died September 28.

The committee consisted of Hon. Sylvester Dana, Hon. Charles H. Bell, J. E. Pecker, Esq.

Hon. Sylvester Dana, from the committee to nominate new members, made the following report, which was, on motion, accepted, and the persons therein named were duly elected members of the Society by ballot :

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Rev. Elijah Russell Wilkins, Harry G. Sargent, Esq., Henry A. Kimball, Concord ; Col. Richard M. Scammon, Joseph C. A. Wingate, Stratham ; Hon. Charles H. Means, Manchester ; Rev. Nathan F. Carter, Concord ; Joseph Pinkham, Newmarket.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Mrs. Jennie Bouton Fogg, South Weymouth, Mass. ; W. Howard Tucker, Hartford, Vt. ; Miss Hetta M. Hewey, New Bedford, Mass.

On motion of Hon. John J. Bell, it was voted that when the meeting adjourns this noon, it be adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock this afternoon.

On motion of J. E. Pecker, Esq., it was voted that the president appoint a committee to arrange for a *Field Day* at Hampton, sometime during the month of September, passing the night, if practicable, and that the committee have an appropriate address prepared.

The president appointed as such committee, J. E. Pecker, Esq., Edward H. Spalding, Esq., Isaac K. Gage, Esq.

On motion, the Society adjourned until two o'clock P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The meeting of the Society was called to order at two o'clock P. M. by the president.

Hon. Sylvester Dana, from the Committee on the "Sullivan Papers," submitted an oral report, which was, on motion, accepted, and the following resolution adopted :

Resolved, That until otherwise ordered the "Sullivan Papers" shall be kept at all times in the fire-proof vault, and shall be open to inspection only in the presence of the librarian or his assistant, or upon a special written application, approved in writing by the president or one of the vice-presidents, and a majority of the standing committee, which application and approval shall be preserved in the files of the Society.

Hon. John J. Bell then delivered the

ANNUAL ADDRESS.

It was at a late date that I was asked by your committee to give you the substance of an address originally prepared for, and delivered at, the quarter-millennial celebration of the town of Hampton. The time then at my disposal would not permit my preparing a new address upon that subject. All I have had time to do has been to leave out the purely local allusions, and, in a few places, to insert something which I thought might add to the story as formerly told. So much I may say, not so much in excuse, as to account for my giving you the warmed-over dish of a former repast, when you might not unnaturally expect something prepared especially for the present occasion.

The rise and growth, modification and decay, of municipal institutions offer a fruitful field for study by the thoughtful investigator into the progress of human government. It has seemed to me that in the history of the New England town, in its origin and the forces which have modified its development, and those other forces which are even now essentially changing its character, lay a field of interesting inquiry. To trace the growth of municipal institutions, as of all other methods and forms of civil government, from primeval man through the various stages of development, under the differing environments in which the various races of men have been placed, and thence the early evolution and later growth of human government, while enticing in itself and doubtless profitable in its results, would open too broad an inquiry for our present purpose, and might lead to speculation in which imagination, rather than observation, would furnish the data from which our conclusions would be drawn.

For our present purpose we need go no further back than to the town, the burgh, of the Middle Ages, nor wider than the domain of western European progress. What connection these municipalities may have had with the early Greek cities, or with the prototype of the communal system which has existed in European society as one of its prime movers, we need not here trouble ourselves about. It is enough for us simply to remark upon the fact that the spirit of civil liberty, which seemed elsewhere in Europe to be crushed out, was maintained and preserved in these petty municipalities. I say of civil liberty, for the idea of individual freedom was hardly as yet conceived in the heart of man. While these towns and boroughs preserved to us the memory and the existence of that civil liberty which was the original right of all of European race, yet it was in too many cases with entire disregard of the individual right. Liberty, in the light of that time, was rather that of the citizen as the member of a free community, than of the freeman free in his own right. Within the community itself the individual was scarcely more free than the serf without: for him the authority of his town or borough or city stood very much in the place of that of the baron or king without the walls. Nor did this freedom, such as it was, enure to all inhabitants: it belonged to the freeman, the citizen; and all others, although they might be under the town's protection, were allowed no voice in the determinations to which these little republics might come.

Imperfect as such government was, it was a great advance upon the condition of the ordinary subject, who had scarcely any rights at all, certainly few that he could protect against arbitrary power. The extent to which this civil freedom might and did encourage the sense of individual freedom of thought and action of course varied as other forces helped or hindered. In some, it was closely connected with the sense of, and desire for, religious freedom; in others, it was checked by the greater power of the feudal lords, which required the united action of the whole community for the common defence. Or, through the ever corrupting influence of party spirit, both individual and civil liberty became the prey of the demagogue;

or, to prevent this, it yielded to the seeming necessity for a stronger government, either through the forms or on the ruins of the municipal institutions. Yet it was in the towns that the hope of liberty, civil and individual, was preserved: as they grew stronger, better governments, and freer, ruled; as they were weakened, arbitrary power increased. And generally through the towns the strength of free principles, stimulated by the successful revolt against spiritual tyranny, was making itself felt throughout Europe, at the time of the early American settlements, and something of their character and limitations was brought over to us here.

That we may appreciate the modifications which municipal institutions met with on American soil, we need to call to mind the men among whom these institutions were to grow. For, from the character of those who are to administer any human society, will that society receive an impress which will alter the character and the results of the society itself. In a broad way we may thus describe the early settlers in New England. The first of English birth to make permanent settlements on this coast, as they were close upon the tracks of the early explorers, were the hardy fishermen and fur traders, those who came for the pursuit of gain only. In their religious character they were a feeble reflection of the views of those from whom they sprang at home, conforming, doubtless, to the forms of religion to which they had been accustomed, or to which their friends and neighbors adhered in far-off England.

It was of the descendants of such that the story is told, true to the life, whether or not true in fact, that when Whitefield at Portsmouth would have aroused his audience by reminding them that their ancestors came over to preserve a true and pure religion, interrupted him with the declaration, "Our ancestors came over for no such purpose, but to catch fish and deal in furs."

But to them the great end of life was found in hardy adventures and in the profits of the then new and teeming fisheries, with such incidental profits as might come from the purchase of the Indians' collection of peltries. From the nature of their occupation they were individually free when here, although at home they probably knew little of what we should

understand as liberty. Some of them were there townsmen, and claimed to be freemen as such; most of them probably were not. Here on this coast they acknowledged neither lord nor town, and yielded a nominal rather than deep-seated allegiance to the crown. They were Englishmen, and as such claimed the protection of English authority, but probably did not feel very strongly the correlative duties. These men made settlements on convenient and easily defensible spots, for the convenient prosecution of their trade. They were not known to, or recognized by, any legal authority. If not interfered with, they probably would have gradually received corporate rights, and grown to be towns, like the medieval ones, and much after the medieval pattern, but their settlements were hardly to be called permanent, and were not recognized by any of the grantors under the authority of the king. There is no record of any town having arisen from them, although it is not certain that some may not have done so. The nature of their life and business naturally made them not only free as individuals, but also little regardful of authority collectively, and they made much trouble for the more settled communities which later came over. Yet the influence of this class upon the development of civil institutions here has been ignored, as has their very settlement itself. It was, however, by no means a small element in either.

The hardy and enterprising spirit which at first took them from home, their relative isolation here and the consequent necessity for greater reliance upon self and less upon the strength arising from combination, fostered and developed a sturdy sense of individual liberty which little brooked the restraints of law, whether as the representative of a power above and beyond them, or as the mutual concession of a social compact. While this in many instances weakened the power of the struggling colonists, it did very much to modify the character of the town as here established, and much more in New Hampshire, which remained without even the form of government between the town or the factor and the crown, during a large part of the formative period of our town governments.

The second were the settlements commenced with hopes of

gain by the adventurous cavaliers about the court, who received grants of lands here, as others of them did in Ireland, with equal disregard of the rights of the natives in either case. In Ireland they simply attempted, with more or less success, to wring from the unwilling natives the means for their enjoyments near the court. Here there were no inhabitants from whom such revenues could be derived: if anything was to be made out of their grants, it must be by bringing over the settlers, who were to till the soil or dig in the mines for the wealth they desired from their grants. Hangers-on about the court, their religious views were those of the court itself—nominally Church of England, but with a decided leaning to the more ancient faith. Those whom they brought over were like themselves in their religious faith and in their political attachments. To successfully establish such settlements required an amount of capital which few of them possessed. And they received as partners the rich citizens of the towns, who sent over, as factors to care for their interests, citizens with the religious and political characters that were prevalent in their towns. In all these settlements, like those farther south, in Maryland and Virginia and the Carolinas, the religious and political tenets were of the Cavalier rather than of the Roundhead type, yet far enough removed to render them equally desirous of freedom from king and parliament in politics, while the settlement, not having any religious propaganda at its back, sadly needed religious instructors, and perhaps deserved the Puritan taunt of godless.

Yet, as with the same class at home in England, their religious sentiment was not so much wanting, as differing from that of their neighbors and critics. The first church in New Hampshire was, with little doubt, of the Church of England, and some of the low mounds, which are still to be seen in its churchyard at Odiorne's Point, as I believe, antedate the Pilgrim at Plymouth. In the subsequent subjection to Massachusetts, the exercise of their religious forms was rigidly suppressed, and the state of their church at home denied them such support as a generation later would have given them.

The exigencies of the civil wars at home, and the want of needed capital, credit, and prestige, sooner or later crippled

these settlements, while the Puritan settlements, sustained by strong religious feeling and partaking more of the character of a national movement, disregarded their grants, and swallowed up their settlements and, largely, their people. Those who remained loyal to their Planters were soon left to shift for themselves by the needs of their home lords, and they drew together in a few localities, and finally succumbed to the superior life of the Puritan settlements. The Piscataqua had early been one of their chief places, and when at last it yielded to Massachusetts Bay, it secured by treaty certain rights which had not before been granted to Massachusetts towns. Massachusetts wisely neglected to see many things which in her own towns she would not have permitted, trusting to time and the influence of her people and polity to correct them. Yet the influence of this diverse element was by no means small in introducing a change of type in the Puritan town.

The third in order of time was the Pilgrim of Plymouth. Of him the common remark that our ancestors came over to establish or to find religious freedom was so far true, that they came to save themselves and their children from what they deemed the contaminating influences which surrounded them either in England or in Holland. They were sincere enthusiasts for their religious views, willing to be martyrs if need be; God-fearing men, full of the sweetness of Christ's Gospel, as they understood it; ready, as they felt that they had received a new light which those about them had not, in theory to acknowledge that all God's light might not have come to them, and that they were to expect and welcome any new light that might be vouchsafed to them; yet so satisfied with their own, that it is not likely that the evidence would readily be found which would convince them of the new light;—withal, they were not of the great men, as this world counts greatness; they were no doubt wilful and opinionated, their vision was no doubt capable of measurement, and their minds were, it may be, narrow; but they had the strength of character which comes from sincere conviction,—and, in the progress of time, we are more willing to identify ourselves with them than with any other of the types of character which could be found among the early set-

tlers of New England. Their influence was scarcely felt directly in New Hampshire, and they themselves, notwithstanding their efforts to send down through their posterity their own cherished faith, were eventually swallowed up by the stronger Puritans.

The latest type of New England settler, that for our present purpose it is necessary for us to consider, was the Puritan of Massachusetts Bay. Men they were, in whose hearts burned a zeal for their own religion which left no room for the belief that any new or different light could ever come to themselves or to the world—intolerant of all other beliefs to a degree which almost rivalled that of the Church of Rome. Yet withal it was more a religion of the head than of the heart, and it was accompanied with a form of assertion which seemed to their unfriends to savor more of policy than of truth. They were not simple-minded souls who found their all in their religious faith, but shrewd, hard-headed men of the world: their eye was always open to the main chance. If their settlement here was founded, professedly, to form a community whose God was the Lord, and in which His worship should be, and remain, pure and undefiled, there was also the hope of founding a commonwealth in which they were to find their temporal interests duly served. To them are to be ascribed the qualities, largely, which go to form the idea conventionally received of the Yankee. They were backed by a strong business, religious, and political party at home in England, and in their history the alternating supremacy of each of these interests may be traced. Similarity of views led them to a strong feeling of common interest with the parliament party in the civil war then raging in England, as the Cavalier element did with that of the King. Their settlement had been largely recruited from those who would escape the power and authority of the royal prerogative, and they received the countenance of the parliament party in their efforts to establish a commonwealth which practically should include all New England. Having come to found a commonwealth in which they and theirs were to be the chief rulers, their polity was such as seemed to them likely to make that commonwealth a success. They encroached upon their

neighbors on either hand : they swallowed up the earlier settlements. Plymouth, Mariana, New Hampshire, New Somerset ceased almost to have a name. If their religion had not the sweetness of that of Plymouth and its Pilgrims, it was to the full as dogmatic and assertive as it, while in its influence upon the control of the life it was quite as successful as that the Cavalier element brought with it. They brought with them the germs of a church polity which soon grew into a very perfect system of the forms of religion, and by maintaining those forms seemed to itself, and to the careless observer, to have more of the reality of religion than any of the other settlers except the Pilgrim, who was thereby the easier absorbed. Filled with their dream of a Christian commonwealth, they would seem to have the spirit, even though they may never have placed it in form, of the resolutions of which we have heard, as passed by one of their churches :

Resolved, That the Earth is the Lord's and the inheritance thereof.

Resolved, That the inheritance belongs to the Saints.

Resolved, That we are the Saints.

It was much in the spirit of these resolutions that their colony was carried on under their charter. Let us not judge them too harshly : their faults, such as they were, were those largely of the age in which they lived, while in many respects they builded better than they knew. They introduced municipal government into New England. Not the democratic governments which are commonly ascribed to them : that theory, like that of religious liberty, was far in advance of them. The government, the political power, was in the hands of the freemen alone, and in the towns the primary ownership of the land and the political power were in the hands of the original grantees, and of those whom they admitted as freemen and settlers with them. In accordance with the fundamental idea of their religious commonwealth, every freeman must be a member of their church, or, rather, of one of their association of churches. And those who professed a different faith were not worthy of trust. How could they be, when they denied the very foundation on which their civil government was, in their minds at least, reared !

In thus attempting to point out the character, or types of the character, of these early settlers, let me not be supposed to be drawing any individual portraits, or to deny that a finer analysis might show intermediate types, or to assert that all these characteristic traits were to be found in any one person.

You have all heard of the too susceptible and unfortunate young man, who, seeing the photograph of apparently a beautiful girl, fell deeply, madly in love with her, and when he sought the original, found it was one of those composite pictures of some sixty young girl graduates of Smith College, or Vassar, or some other,—and, look among them all as he would, no one of them was the ideal original of the portrait, although the photograph of each and every one was there. It is thus I have attempted, feebly, I know, to present the composite picture of the different types of early settlers, out of whom and others like, and from no one of whom, has come the strength of New England.

Of our New Hampshire towns, Portsmouth was formed very largely of the first two classes I have named, and of the dependents which those classes brought with them. After the death of Mason there was a large Puritan addition, and the struggles between these parties may yet be dimly discerned in what the victors in the struggle have suffered to come down to us of the record of those times. Dover, with less of the Cavalier and more of a modified Puritan character, yet both in civil and religious affairs, was by no means in full accord with the Puritans of the Bay. Exeter, with an admixture greater or less of the earlier or fisherman element, was chiefly regarded by Massachusetts, as it was in fact, as the hostile settlement of the banished Wheelwright and his followers. Banished! not for religious but for political nonconformity, although the former was made the pretext for the arbitrary act.

Hampton was in its inception a Puritan town granted by Massachusetts on the ground she intended to claim, and the frontier toward the banished and assumed heretical Exeter and the loose-living, half-Cavalier, half-fisherman of Portsmouth and Dover.

The original settlers of the four New Hampshire towns,

though poor in this world's goods, though, from the hard conditions under which life was presented to them, they had little time to write history or tell the story of their struggles and aspirations: yet as we look back through the distorted medium through which most of what we know of them has been preserved to us, we cannot but be struck with the fact that their leaders would have been eminent in any community. And though the victorious Massachusetts Puritan may still persist in belittling them, yet they not only have greatly modified the character of New England town governments, but have contributed, not less than Massachusetts herself, to make New England's fame and character; and we who claim descent from them may look upon their lives and their acts as a constant stimulus to remember the adage ascribed to the French nobility of the olden times, that "*Noblesse oblige*." The world has the right to expect and to claim of us as their descendants a higher patriotism, a purer life, than of those to whom it cannot point an equal ancestry. But their numbers were too few to cope thoroughly with other social forces about them. The annexation of Portsmouth and Dover, and, later, of Exeter, the combining them with the county of Norfolk, brought them with Hampton into (for the perpetuity of the Puritan type of town) dangerous contact with other elements, notwithstanding the effort successfully made to Puritanize (if I may be allowed to coin a word) the New Hampshire towns. In Portsmouth and Dover the requirement of church membership, through politic management, was not insisted upon. The failure of the Wheelwright church in Exeter, and the prohibition of the general court "that the people of Exeter proceed no farther in the settlement of a pastor till a further order of this court," which left Exeter without settled religious instruction for several years, probably produced the same result there. The requirement could not long have been maintained in Hampton. The frequent interchange of inhabitants between the four towns would of necessity have obliterated this, as well as the other distinctions of freemen in each. Hampton ceased to be wholly Puritan as the other towns became partially so. The greater freedom of the two northern towns permeated the more southern

ones, both religiously and politically : and before the Massachusetts rule was set aside, and the province of New Hampshire established, in these four towns little distinction was made between those who were after the Puritan manner freemen, and those who were not ; and these towns were democratic republics, owing a certain allegiance to the central power, but not recognizing many distinctions to which the Massachusetts towns proper were subject. In this way, as I conceive it, the type of New England town government, as distinguished from Massachusetts Bay Puritan towns, came into being. It was not created by the superior wisdom of our ancestors, but, like Topsy, it "grewed," and that, too, in that part of New England where the necessary influences were most potent. Had it not been for this fortunate chance, which threw four such communities together as the four New Hampshire towns, it is not improbable that the growth of the municipal system, originally introduced in Massachusetts Bay, would have been different, and it is quite possible that, refusing to yield to the advancing sentiment of freedom, it might have ceased to be one of the great forces of our civilization.

These New Hampshire towns exercised,—I was about to say claimed, but it was rather that without any thought of claim or its denial,—they simply exercised without question many powers which the stronger government of Massachusetts never would permit to towns under that government. Hence, when men, learned in the law-books, but not so deeply learned in the history of our New Hampshire towns, were called to decide upon the authority of the towns, they not infrequently erred, as did the supreme court of New Hampshire when it decided, in the War of the Rebellion, that the towns had no authority to raise money to pay in bounties to encourage the enlistment of soldiers—a thing which the New Hampshire towns had done unquestioned in every preceding war. The decision would have been in accordance with the precedents in Massachusetts, from whose cases it was probably taken.

I do not wish to be understood as claiming for the mere form of town government, thus established, the origin of the greater freedom of the individual which distinguishes our mod-

ern systems of political thought. The recognition of the right of the individual to a personal freedom, as distinguished from that of the social system of which he might be a member, was, undoubtedly, the necessary result of wider acting causes, and would sooner or later have come had the New England town never existed. But there can be no doubt that these towns were the means of introducing that sentiment to the political society of which they formed a part without the shock which elsewhere was caused by it, and that they formed a convenient medium for making known to the world as a practical force this great truth.

The position of the New England town and its town-meeting in the civil polity is not, I fear, at all times fully remembered;—in truth, even in Massachusetts, much the larger share of political power was in the towns. It was not so much that the towns exercised the powers which the general court granted them, as that the general court did such things as the towns directed them to do. All public business was debated and considered in town-meeting as much as, if not more than, in the general court itself. On the other hand, no officer of the town presumed to do anything until the town-meeting had considered and directed it; the smallest act required a town-meeting before the selectmen should act. If this sometimes caused a vacillating policy and consequent waste of energy and of money, it at least rendered every citizen cognizant of the town affairs, and gave him a power to judge of the wisdom or otherwise of the town's acts, of which few modern citizens can boast. These little democracies did much to create, or at least to foster, that spirit of self-reliant strength which made the name of Yankee famous.

Leaving now the past, let us look forward, with what prescience we may possess, into what shall be the future of the influence of the New England town system upon the progress of the race. For I assume that, with all that has been done, no thoughtful man believes that the great problem of successful human government has yet been solved. Our most advanced systems are yet but experiments, out of the repeated failures of which we are as yet to find only buoys to mark out the false

tracks which have been heretofore followed, as well as to indicate the direction in which progress is for the present least impeded. That these New England towns possessed, for them, a far better system of government than had ever before been known, and probably better for them than any we are likely to find, will, I think, compel the assent of every careful and truth-seeking inquirer into political truth. Not that they were perfect, as none of the works of man can be, but that the evils are more than counterbalanced by the gain over all other systems; but that the system, which in our smaller towns, where there is great practical equality of knowledge, of virtue, of social standing, and of wealth, has been productive of so much that is desirable, if not all that is essential, in good government, may fail when applied to other communities where no such practical equality exists,—where, on the contrary, great extremes of knowledge and ignorance, of public and private virtue, of vice and crime, of refinement and vulgarity, as well as of wealth and indigence, separate the community into classes and cliques, among whom great jealousies of each other will necessarily exist, often rising into enmity,—is *a priori* highly probable, and in many instances has directly or indirectly come very near making wreck of all the good which elsewhere has come from it in communities like those where it originated. Again: The growth of population, the diversities of business, the greater accumulation of capital, and the consequent increase of the scale on which our business enterprises are carried on, have brought together bodies of men in the same community far too large to transact business in town-meeting, and have rendered some other system a necessity. In what way, then, shall this necessary growth of the body politic be provided for? In the government of national affairs, which in the earlier times of political history were little more than the quarrels between towns, and which, as these towns coalesced into states, were provided for by more or less arbitrary government, modern example has provided representative government, and the so far successful working of representative governments has, in this country, led to the adoption of similar governments in cities, not, however, with that complete satisfaction in its working, which we

might desire ; so that now in many of our large cities there is a growing sentiment, practically, although almost unconsciously, in the direction of arbitrary power—a result which would seem in other nations to be very generally resorted to. While these experiments have been making in the government of our heterogeneous cities, they have reacted unfavorably upon our town governments, and they have been changing from the democratic republic of the New England types of towns, in which the body of the inhabitants determine the course of public action, into representative governments, in which, not the town but executive officers, originally designed merely to carry out the views of the citizens as declared by them in town-meeting, have assumed the power of direction of the town's policy. In both cases our experiments seem now to be failures. What then? The method of arbitrary government—no matter how variously our body politic may be made up, or how extensive or how complicated the details of the government may be—is highly repugnant to all our notions and prejudices, and almost equally so to our well informed judgment. The conundrum is one that day by day is pressing us for solution, and every day we are giving it up as too hard for us ; while all the time there are many who think they see, in the failure of representative government in cities, the evidence of its eventual failure in state and national affairs. I am no pessimist : I believe the world to-day has profited by the experience of the ages ; and as our control over the forces of nature has largely increased our natural powers, as our increased incomes have greatly enlarged our means of material happiness, as our greater knowledge has extended the term of earthly existence, as our modern systems of government have furnished greater protection to the individual from arbitrary power, so we have reason to trust that in each of these, and in other directions, we shall from generation to generation grow not only stronger and richer, but wiser and better, and this though we may in some directions grow worse. Yet I am not so much of an optimist as to shut my eyes to dangers which are plainly before me. While there is much which I cannot see, I fully believe in the democratic basis of our town system of government. I believe

that the encroachments of mere agents upon the province of the town should be resisted and cured, not so much by legislation as by a higher sense of public duty in each citizen. Representative institutions are a makeshift only, to do that which the *Demos* is too unwieldy to perform. Their tendency is, to steal the power from the many and deposit it with the few : still they are, so far as can now be seen, indispensable. The dangers arising from them are to be met by increased sense of responsibility in the elector, and increased jealousy of unnecessary legislation,—in short, by greatly increased public spirit. We should endeavor, so far as possible, to resist the causes which are making the great inequalities in our modern society, by increasing the intelligence and learning of those who are behind in the race ; by the promotion of public and private virtue among those who lack ; by the cultivation of the higher and more refined feelings among those who now are coarse and vulgar ; and by the more equal distribution of wealth,—that homogeneity, which has made the success of the New England town, may be in great part restored. I know the many difficulties which beset any attempt to do any of these things, but I feel well assured that if the wise and learned remain unwilling, as they seem now to me to be, to make the elevation of their fellow-men the first and the highest exercise of the powers and energies which the Creator has implanted in them ; if the virtuous and the religious portion of the community remain satisfied with their own freedom from vice, and, like the Levite and the priest in the parable, pass by on the other side their brothers and sisters who form the dangerous classes in society ; if the refined continue to recoil from the coarse and vulgar, and to appear at least to believe themselves made of better clay than others ; if the rich continue to trust in their wealth, and to increase it by methods which can hardly pass the golden rule of doing unto others as you would have others do to you, while entirely falling short of the Saviour's rule of love, not as we love ourselves but as He loved us ;—if all these classes make no more effort, than in my time they have done, to reduce and minimize the differences between different ranks in society, our representative institutions, like our system of town govern-

ments, will prove a failure, and the tendency I have adverted to, to resort to arbitrary government, will become too strong to be resisted, and in some way, it would be presumptuous even to guess what, the spectre which has been felt rather than seen, which we sometimes speak of as "*the man on horse-back*," will brood over us, sapping our very national life.

But the proverb that *Man's extremity is God's opportunity* has very much of truth, and to Him I am willing to trust the future of our beloved country, always remembering the story of Mahomet, who, when one of his fanatic followers in his presence said "I will now loose my camel, and trust him to God," replied, "Friend, tie thy camel, and trust him to God."

In thus calling your attention to the relation of our early New Hampshire history to some of the problems of good government, and trying to impress upon you my sense of some trials and some dangers, which seem to me impending, and the duties which we as thinking men should try to be prepared to meet, I can hardly flatter myself that I have, in either, done what it was in my heart to impress upon you, or perhaps to make clear the truth either of my history or my sense of duty.

Thanking you for your kind attention, I ask you to remember what may be worth remembering, and to forget all that may seem to you trivial and false.

Hon. Charles R. Morrison offered the following resolution, which, on motion, was adopted :

Resolved, That this Society views with great satisfaction the joint resolution of the last legislature for the statue of General John Stark, and expresses the hope that the undertaking will be carried to a successful conclusion.

On motion of Hon. L. D. Stevens, the thanks of the Society were voted Hon. John J. Bell, for his address.

On motion of Hon. Charles H. Bell, the thanks of the Society were voted Amos Hadley, Esq., for his long and faithful service of sixteen years as recording secretary.

On motion of Amos Hadley, Esq., it was voted that when

the annual meeting adjourns, it be to meet at the call of the president.

On motion, the meeting adjourned at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

CHARLES R. CORNING,
Recording Secretary.

ANNUAL FIELD DAY.

CONCORD, September 8, 1890.

The Committee on the Annual Excursion and Field Day of the N. H. Historical Society, through its chairman, sent out to the members the following announcement:

"The Annual Excursion and Field Day of the members of the N. H. Historical Society and their friends will be to Hampton Beach, on Thursday, September 11."

ADJOURNED ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, Thursday, September 12, 1890.

The Annual Field Day of the N. H. Historical Society was held in the town of Hampton, according to the arrangements. The members assembled at the Boar's Head House, kept by Col. Stebbins H. Dumas, where they partook of dinner, and in the afternoon enjoyed drives in the neighborhood, some going to Hampton Falls to visit the Gov. Weare house, and to view his monument. At half past seven in the evening the Society was called to order by its president, Hon. S. C. Eastman. In the absence of the recording secretary, Isaac K. Gage, Esq., was chosen recording secretary *pro tem*.

Mrs. Myron J. Pratt entertained the company with selections on the piano, some of them being her own composition.

President Eastman delivered an address on the Northmen in America, and the discovery of this country by them.

The stone, supposed by Mr. Aber to indicate the grave of the

celebrated Thorvald, and found on the land of William Lee, was a subject of discussion by Hon. James W. Patterson, Mr. Joseph B. Walker, Rev. James H. Fitz, Mr. Woodbridge Odlin, Albert Leavitt, Esq., Charles M. Lamprey, Esq., and others.

Charles M. Lamprey, Esq., thanked the Society, on behalf of the people of Hampton, for honoring them by this Field Day.

On motion of Hon. Amos J. Blake, the subject of the Thorvald stone was postponed to the next annual meeting of the Society. This motion was laid on the table.

On motion of Mr. J. B. Walker, it was voted to appropriate one hundred dollars for the use of the library committee, to buy books.

On motion, Mr. Charles C. Danforth, of Concord, was elected a resident member of the Society.

On motion, the meeting adjourned, subject to the call of the president.

ISAAC K. GAGE,

Recording Secretary, pro tem.

A true copy :

CHARLES R. CORNING,

Recording Secretary.

LIFE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY,
JUNE 11, 1890.

MRS. CORA K. BELL,	. . .	Exeter.
HON. CHARLES H. BELL,	. . .	Exeter.
HON. JOHN J. BELL,	. . .	Exeter.
REV. W. R. COCHRANE,	. . .	Antrim.
JOSEPH C. A. HILL, Esq.,	. . .	Concord.
HON. GEORGE A. PILLSBURY,	. . .	Minneapolis, Minn.
MRS. ALMIRA RICE TAPPAN,	. . .	Concord.
REV. CHARLES LANGDON TAPPAN,	. . .	Concord.

RESIDENT MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY,
JUNE 11, 1890.

FRANCIS L. ABBOT,	Concord.
HENRY ABBOTT,	Winchester.
JUDGE W. H. H. ALLEN,	Claremont.
FRANK P. ANDREWS,	Concord.
CLINTON S. AVERILL,	Milford.
F. D. AYER, D. D.,	Concord.
HON. CHARLES H. AMSDEN,	Penacook.
GEN. HENRY M. BAKER,	Bow.
HON. GEORGE L. BALCOM,	Claremont.
DR. JESSE P. BANCROFT,	Concord.
HON. DANIEL BARNARD,	Franklin.
REV. JOHN E. BARRY,	Concord.
MRS. CAROLINE B. BARTLETT,	Concord.
JAMES W. BARTLETT,	Dover.
MRS. ANNIE E. BAER,	Salmon Falls.
JOHN BALLARD,	Concord.
HON. AMOS J. BLAKE,	Fitzwilliam.
ALBERT E. BODWELL,	Concord.
MRS. PAULINE L. BOWEN,	Concord.
E. R. BROWN,	Dover.
ALVIN BURLEIGH,	Plymouth.
JUDGE ALONZO P. CARPENTER,	Concord.
MRS. JULIA R. CARPENTER,	Concord.
REV. NATHAN FRANKLIN CARTER,	Concord.
DR. WILLIAM G. CARTER,	Concord.
CHARLES S. CARTLAND,	Dover.
HON. WILLIAM E. CHANDLER,	Concord.
HON. WILLIAM M. CHASE,	Concord.
HORACE E. CHAMBERLAIN,	Concord.
GEORGE B. CHANDLER,	Manchester.

PROF. BRADBURY L. CILLEY,	.	Exeter.
HARRY B. CILLEY,	.	Concord.
JOHN B. CLARKE,	.	Manchester.
CORNELIUS E. CLIFFORD,	.	Concord.
P. BRAINARD COGSWELL,	.	Concord.
IRA COLBY,	.	Claremont.
HON. CHARLES R. CORNING,	.	Concord.
CEPHAS B. CRANE, D.D.,	.	Concord.
MRS. ANNETTE M. R. CRESSEY,	.	Concord.
HON. DAVID CROSS,	.	Manchester.
GEORGE N. CROSS,	.	Exeter.
GEN. GEORGE T. CRUFT,	.	Bethlehem.
HON. MOODY CURRIER,	.	Manchester.
HON. SYLVESTER DANA,	.	Concord.
LEWIS DOWNING, JR.,	.	Concord.
HON. WARREN F. DANIELL,	.	Franklin.
ISAAC B. DODGE,	.	Amherst.
ALBERT S. EASTMAN,	.	Hampstead.
CHARLES T. EASTMAN,	.	Littleton.
EDSON C. EASTMAN,	.	Concord.
HON. SAMUEL C. EASTMAN,	.	Concord.
MRS. HARRIET N. EATON,	.	Concord.
JAMES A. EDGERLY,	.	Somersworth.
ALFRED ELWYN,	.	Portsmouth.
CHARLES A. FARR,	.	Littleton.
JOHN L. FARWELL,	.	Claremont.
FRANCIS C. FAULKNER,	.	Keene.
WILLIAM P. FISKE,	.	Concord.
REV. JAMES H. FITTS,	.	South Newmarket.
JOHN C. FRENCH,	.	Manchester.
JOHN S. H. FRINK,	.	Greenland.
JOHN E. FRYE,	.	East Concord.
W. A. FERGUSON,	.	Auburn, Me.
ISAAC K. GAGE,	.	Penacook.
ENOCH GERRISH,	.	Concord.
REV. J. BRADLEY GILMAN,	.	Concord.
SYLVESTER C. GOULD,	.	Manchester.
MRS. MARIA L. GOVE,	.	Concord.
JOHN C. GOODENOUGH,	.	Littleton.
WALLACE HACKETT,	.	Portsmouth.

FRANK W. HACKETT, . . .	Portsmouth.
WILLIAM H. HACKETT, . . .	Portsmouth.
MARSHALL P. HALL, . . .	Manchester.
HON. DANIEL HALL, . . .	Dover.
JOHN R. HAM, . . .	Dover.
MRS. MARTHA W. HAMMOND, . . .	Concord.
HON. AMOS HADLEY, . . .	Concord.
MISS AMANDA B. HARRIS, . . .	Warner.
MISS ALMA J. HERBERT, . . .	Concord.
EDSON J. HILL, . . .	Concord.
PAUL R. HOLDEN, . . .	West Concord.
MOSES HUMPHREY, . . .	Concord.
HON. CHESTER B. JORDAN, . . .	Lancaster.
HON. BENJAMIN A. KIMBALL, . . .	Concord.
HENRY A. KIMBALL, . . .	Concord.
MRS. MYRA T. KIMBALL, . . .	Concord.
MRS. MARY E. KIMBALL, . . .	Lebanon.
HON. JOHN KIMBALL, . . .	Concord.
DR. JOHN R. KIMBALL, . . .	Suncook.
SAMUEL S. KIMBALL, . . .	Concord.
SENECA A. LADD, . . .	Meredith Village.
HON. WILLIAM S. LADD, . . .	Lancaster.
FRANCIS E. LANGDON, . . .	Portsmouth.
DR. M. C. LATHROP, . . .	Dover.
HON. JOHN C. LINEHAN, . . .	Penacook.
GEORGE P. LITTLE, . . .	Pembroke.
MRS. JOHN C. LONG, . . .	Exeter.
MRS. LYDIA F. LUND, . . .	Concord.
JOHN M. MAHANY, . . .	Concord.
ANSON S. MARSHALL, . . .	Concord.
CHARLES T. MEANS, . . .	Manchester.
WILLIAM H. MITCHELL, . . .	Littleton.
HON. CHARLES R. MORRISON, . . .	Concord.
HON. LEONARD A. MORRISON, . . .	Windham.
MORTIER L. MORRISON, . . .	Peterborough.
JOHN N. MCCLINTOCK, . . .	Concord.
ALBERT O. MATHES, . . .	Dover.
HON. JOHN W. NOYES, . . .	Chester.
ELIPHALET S. NUTTER, . . .	Concord.
JOHN P. NUTTER, . . .	Concord.

REV. JAMES E. ODLIN, . . .	Goffstown.
WOODBIDGE ODLIN, . . .	Concord.
GEORGE OLCOTT, . . .	Charlestown.
JOHN C. ORDWAY, . . .	Concord.
DR. HAVEN PALMER, . . .	Plymouth.
WALTER M. PARKER, . . .	Manchester.
REV. E. G. PARSONS, . . .	Derry.
JONATHAN E. PECKER, . . .	Concord.
JOHN T. PERRY, . . .	Exeter.
PARKER PILLSBURY, . . .	Concord.
JOSEPH PINKHAM, . . .	Newmarket.
GEN. HOWARD L. PORTER, . . .	Concord.
MRS. ALICE ROSALIE PORTER, . . .	Concord.
MYRON J. PRATT, . . .	Concord.
ABRAHAM J. PRESCOTT, . . .	Concord.
HON. BENJAMIN F. PRESCOTT, . . .	Epping.
HON. DEXTER RICHARDS, . . .	Newport.
HON. HENRY ROBINSON, . . .	Concord.
FRANK W. ROLLINS, . . .	Concord.
WILLIAM H. ROLLINS, . . .	Portsmouth.
CHARLES H. SANDERS, . . .	Penacook.
MRS. LOUISA J. SARGENT, . . .	Concord.
HON. CHARLES H. SAWYER, . . .	Dover.
MRS. ELIZABETH P. SCHÜTZ, . . .	Concord.
DANIEL F. SECOMB, . . .	Concord.
HON. ARTHUR W. SILSBY, . . .	Concord.
GEORGE H. H. SILSBY, . . .	Concord.
HON. FREDERICK SMYTH, . . .	Manchester.
MRS. MARION SMYTH, . . .	Manchester.
HON. ISAAC W. SMITH, . . .	Manchester.
JOHN B. SMITH, . . .	Hillsborough Bridge.
JEREMIAH SMITH, . . .	Dover.
EDWARD SPALDING, . . .	Nashua.
EDWARD H. SPALDING, . . .	Wilton.
CHARLES B. SPOFFORD, . . .	Claremont.
PAUL A. STACKPOLE, . . .	Dover.
HON. EZRA S. STEARNS, . . .	Rindge.
HON. LYMAN D. STEVENS, . . .	Concord.
MRS. FRANCES C. STEVENS, . . .	Concord.
HENRY W. STEVENS, . . .	Concord.

MRS. ELLEN TUCK STEVENS,	.	Concord.
WILLIAM S. STEVENS,	. . .	Dover.
JOSEPH A. STICKNEY,	. . .	Somersworth.
HON. ALVAH W. SULLOWAY,	.	Franklin.
JOHN C. THORNE,	. . .	Concord.
TITUS SALTER TREDICK,	. . .	Portsmouth.
HON. A. S. TWITCHELL,	. . .	Gorham.
PROF. ISAAC WALKER,	. . .	Pembroke.
CHARLES R. WALKER,	. . .	Concord.
MRS. ELIZABETH L. WALKER,	.	Concord.
HON. JOSEPH B. WALKER,	. . .	Concord.
DR. BENJAMIN S. WARREN,	. . .	Concord.
DR. IRVING A. WATSON,	. . .	Concord.
JOHN T. WELCH,	. . .	Dover.
MARK H. WENTWORTH,	. . .	Portsmouth.
JOHN A. WHITE,	. . .	Concord.
B. B. WHITTEMORE,	. . .	Nashua.
JOSEPH C. A. WINGATE,	. . .	Stratham.



Charles F. Bell

HON. CHARLES H. BELL.

The New Hampshire Historical Society was incorporated and organized in 1823. Charles Henry Bell was born the same year. The good works of the man and the life of the society are closely intermingled. Mr. Bell became a resident member of the society at the annual meeting in June, 1859, and a life member in 1874. Through all these years the society has enjoyed the benefit of his sound advice, and of his willing and efficient service. He was frequently appointed to committees, and discharged all the delegated trusts with zeal and ability. In 1868 he was elected president of the society, and by annual reëlections was continued in that office nineteen years.

I. JOHN BELL, the emigrant ancestor of a distinguished family, was born near Coleraine, in the county of Antrim, Ireland, 1678. He settled in Londonderry, N. H., 1720, and two years later he returned to Ireland for his wife and two infant daughters. His homestead was in Aiken's Range, within the present town of Derry. He married Elizabeth Todd, a daughter of James and Rachel (Nelson) Todd, and a sister of Col. Andrew Todd. He died July 8, 1743. His wife survived him, and died August 30, 1771. They had two sons and four daughters.

II. JOHN BELL, the son of John and Elizabeth (Todd) Bell, was born in Londonderry, August 15, 1730. He married, December 21, 1758, Mary Ann Gilmore, a daughter of James

and Jean (Baptiste) Gilmore of Londonderry. He was a representative in 1776 and 1777, and again in 1792 and 1793, and a state senator four years, beginning June, 1786, and in 1791 he completed the unexpired term caused by the resignation of Oliver Peabody. He was a colonel in the militia, and August 10, 1785, he was appointed a special justice of the inferior court of common pleas. He died November 30, 1825; his wife died April 21, 1822. They had four sons and five daughters.

III. JOHN BELL, a son of John and Mary Ann (Gilmore) Bell, was born in Londonderry, July 20, 1765. He married, December 25, 1803, Persis Thom, born December 14, 1778, a daughter of Dr. Isaac and Persis (Sargent) Thom. He was a member of the house of representatives in 1799 and 1800, and of the senate in 1803. Beginning in June, 1817, he was five years a member of the executive council, and from 1823 to 1828 the sheriff of Rockingham county. He was governor for the official year 1828-'29. He died in Chester, March 23, 1836; his widow died in 1862. Charles Henry Bell was the youngest of their ten children. Samuel Bell, a younger son of John and Mary Ann (Gilmore) Bell, was born February 9, 1770. Dartmouth college, 1793. He was governor of New Hampshire, 1819-'23, and United States senator, 1823-'35. Died in Chester, December 23, 1850.

IV. CHARLES HENRY BELL, a son of John and Persis (Thom) Bell, was born in Chester, November 18, 1823. Dartmouth college, 1844. LL. D., 1881. He was a lawyer practising in Chester, Somersworth, and after 1854, in Exeter. Beginning in 1856, he was ten years solicitor of Rockingham county. He was a member of the house of representatives in 1858, 1859, 1860, 1872, and 1873, and in this service he was twice appointed chairman of the judiciary committee, and was also a member of the committees on elections, state library, and normal school. In 1863 and 1864 he was a member of the senate, and was appointed to the committees on judiciary, banks, and state institutions. In 1860 he was speaker of the house, and in 1864 president of the senate.

In March, 1879, Governor Prescott appointed him United

States senator, to serve until an existing vacancy was filled by the legislature the following June. In November, 1880, he was elected governor for the term extending from June, 1881, to June, 1883. In the constitutional convention of 1889 he was a member, and was president of the body. For many years he was a trustee of Phillips Exeter academy, and a considerable part of the time he was president of the board. Retiring from the active practice of his profession in 1868, when not employed in official duties, Mr. Bell has been wholly engaged in literary and historical pursuits. He died in Exeter, November 11, 1893.

ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, Wednesday, June 10, 1891.

The sixty-ninth annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held this day, at the Society's rooms, at 11 o'clock a. m., the Hon. Samuel C. Eastman, President, in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Hon. Charles R. Corning, Rev. C. L. Tappan, Librarian, was chosen Secretary *pro tem*.

The proceedings of the last annual meeting having been printed, the reading of the same was dispensed with.

The Hon. Sylvester Dana, Corresponding Secretary, made a verbal report, which was accepted.

On motion of Hon. John J. Bell, a committee of three,

Hon. SYLVESTER DANA,
WOODBIDGE ODLIN, Esq.,
ISAAC K. GAGE, Esq.,

was appointed to recommend new members.

On motion of Hon. Amos Hadley, a committee of three was appointed by the chair to nominate a list of officers for the ensuing year, as follows:

Hon. AMOS HADLEY,
Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER,
Rev. N. F. CARTER.

The President presented the following communication from Hon. Benjamin A. Kimball:

To the New Hampshire Historical Society:

The name of La Fayette stands out prominently among the great men of the world.

His intense love of liberty and freedom of speech caused him, in the hour of our greatest need, to offer himself to the

cause of the American colonies. He sacrificed his country, family, and friends to this one thought of his life, because he felt it a duty. How well he performed this self-imposed duty, the result, the veneration, and the respect in which he is now held testifies.

After the great question of liberty had been settled, he returned to visit the country for which he had spent so much of his time, energy, and fortune, and to congratulate its people on having so successfully accomplished their independence.

New Hampshire was one of the states which had the honor of receiving a visit from him, and of expressing to him their appreciation of his services.

My high esteem and fondness for the life and character of this noble man, prompted me, during my recent visit to France, to obtain a cast of the bust by Houdon, which the state of Virginia presented to France as a token of its appreciation of his valuable services to this country. This bust crowns the entrance to the Assembly Hall at Versailles, where the republic of France was born, and where Thiers, Gambetta, and other leading statesmen battled with their arguments for the same cause for which General La Fayette fought with his sword in our country. I now take the pleasure of presenting this bust to this Society.

B. A. KIMBALL.

Concord, N. H., May 30, 1891.

NOTE. The pedestal has some historical associations which may be of interest to the Society. The shaft is of Africano marble, called Bigio Africanoto, and was found at the Mar-morata, the wine and marble wharf of ancient Rome, on the banks of the Tiber, in excavating for the abutments for a bridge, and came from the island of Scio, in the Grecian Archipelago. The cap and base are of Porto Venere, a marble mentioned by Pliny as coming from the island of Rhodes.

The communication was referred to a committee of three, appointed by the President,—

Rev. C. L. TAPPAN,

Hon. J. B. WALKER,

Judge SYLVESTER DANA,

who subsequently reported the following resolution, which was adopted by a unanimous vote:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be hereby tendered to the Hon. Benjamin A. Kimball for his remembrance of the

Balance :	
Permanent funds	\$9,500.00
Current funds	1,408.32
Funds to pay for state papers in London	500.00
	<hr/> \$11,408.32

Respectfully submitted :

WILLIAM P. FISKE, *Treasurer.*

I hereby certify that I have examined the account of William P. Fiske, Treasurer of the New Hampshire Historical Society, and find the same correctly cast and sustained by proper vouchers.

ISAAC K. GAGE, *Auditor.*

Concord, N. H., June 9, 1891.

The annual report of the Librarian, Rev. C. L. Tappan, was read, presenting important suggestions, and on motion accepted and placed on file.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

To the Annual Meeting of the N. H. Historical Society:

The Librarian respectfully presents his annual report for the year ending June 10, 1891.

The library has been open from 9:30 a. m., to 12 m., and from 1:30 to 4:30 p. m., every day through the year, except Saturday afternoons and the two "Field Days" spent at Hampton.

Many have availed themselves of the privileges of the library ; many more have come out of curiosity to see the Indian relics and other curios, which really form no legitimate part of the library, and ought not to be here. They serve only to waste valuable time, as the librarian should always be present with visitors in the library, so that books may not be mutilated or purloined.

The small room in the south-east corner on the first floor has been fitted with shelves under the direction of the Chairman of the Standing Committee, on which are arranged all the Colonial and State Papers and the publications of the Society which are held for sale, making it much more convenient than before, and giving more shelf room in the library proper. More room is still needed. One alcove on the third floor is used for the storage of books and other things which do not belong to the Society. There is space sufficient for two or three alcoves at the south end of the third floor.

The library has been increased during the past year by the addition of 80 bound volumes and 948 reports and pamphlets.

Bound volumes in the library, as reported last year, 11,314.

Bound volumes in the library, as reported this year, 11,394.

Books purchased during the past year:

Town histories—

Fitzwilliam	\$4.00
Hancock, 2 vols.	4.00
Hopkinton	2.50
Washington	3.50
Marlborough	4.00
New Hampton	2.50
Sutton, 2 vols.	5.00
Newburyport (Smith)	2.25
Newburyport (Coffin)	2.00
Beverly, Mass.	1.00

Genealogies—

Morrison Family	3.00
Bellows Family, Walpole	3.60
History of the First Regiment	2.00
Historical Magazine, 61 numbers (making the set very nearly complete)	14.50

\$53.85

The library has received free,—*Magazine of American History*, from Hon. P. B. Cogswell; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, from Historical and Genealogical Society; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, from Mr. Joseph B. Walker; *Veterans' Advocate*, *Asylum Record*, *Littleton Courier*, *Plymouth Record*, *Exeter Gazette*, *Haverhill Courier*, *Weekly People and Patriot*, *Mirror and Farmer*, *Canaan Reporter*, *Great Falls Free Press*, and *Weekly News* of Woodsville, from their several publishers.

Mrs. E. H. Greeley, through D. F. Secomb, has presented to the library the original "Records of the Church of Christ in East Kingston," from 1739 to about 1790.

Several boxes of papers and pamphlets from the library of the late Judge Nesmith, were presented by his daughter, Miss Anne Nesmith, and Daniel Webster's boots, by John S. Walker, Esq., of Claremont.

Allow me to speak of the needs of the library. More shelf room is a necessity—one that is growing from year to year; and should be provided for as soon as it can conveniently be done. There is another want not so easily met. More room

is needed. There ought to be a clutter- or work-room for empty boxes, newspapers, unassorted pamphlets, and for other purposes for which there is no room now. To meet this want, an enlargement of the building would be necessary, which it is hoped may be done in the near future.

Provision should be made for the purchase of books when they can be obtained, as many desirable and valuable historical books are increasing in price, or passing beyond reach. Every old or new historical or genealogical book on New Hampshire, and perhaps all New England and New England people or families, should be put in the library as soon as they can be obtained. A liberal policy in this regard would enrich the library and keep it abreast of the times.

For at least six months in the year the library can be used only in a limited degree, it not being heated at all save the office on the first floor. A good furnace seems to be a necessity for the good of the library and the comfort of those who use it.

Respectfully submitted :

CHARLES L. TAPPAN,
Librarian.

A verbal report was made by the Library Committee through its chairman, John C. Ordway, Esq., and accepted.

The report of the Publishing Committee was presented, and on motion accepted and placed on file.

REPORT OF PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

To the New Hampshire Historical Society:

The Committee of Publication respectfully make the following report :

Part 2 of Vol. II of the Proceedings of this Society has been published, and is ready for distribution to the members of the Society. It contains 144 pages. Its contents are,—

The records of the meetings of this Society from June 12, 1889, to June 10, 1891.

Address by Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, D. D., of Boston, subject, "The Discovery of America by the Northmen," delivered before the Society, April 24, 1888.

Annual address, June 12, 1889, by Hon. Ezra S. Stearns, of Rindge, subject, "The Offering of Lunenburg, Mass., to Cheshire County, N. H."

A paper read June 12, 1889, by Isaac W. Hammond, Esq., of Concord, subject, "New Hampshire under the Federal Constitution."

Address, delivered before an adjourned meeting of the Society, March 3, 1890, by Hon. Charles R. Corning, of Concord, subject, "An Exploit in King William's War: Hannah Dustan."

Address, delivered before an adjourned meeting of the Society, March 18, 1890, subject, "The Bradley Massacre," by Harry G. Sargent, Esq., of Concord.

Annual address, June 11, 1890, by Hon. John J. Bell, of Exeter, subject, "Early Town Government in New Hampshire."

The names of life and resident members of the Society.

The Society has in its vault the original Records of the Proprietors of Concord. Would it not be well to publish them?

CHARLES H. BELL,
CHARLES L. TAPPAN,
GEORGE L. BALCOM,
Committee of Publication.

On motion of Col. J. E. Pecker, the Recording Secretary was instructed to call quarterly meetings of the Society.

The Hon. Amos Hadley, from the Committee appointed to Nominate Officers for the ensuing year, made the following report, which, on motion, was accepted, and the gentlemen named were severally elected by ballot, according to the provisions of the by-laws of the Society:

President.

Hon. JOHN J. BELL.

Vice-Presidents.

Hon. AMOS HADLEY,

Hon. BENJAMIN A. KIMBALL.

Recording Secretary.

JOHN C. ORDWAY, Esq.

Corresponding Secretary.

Hon. SYLVESTER DANA.

Treasurer.

WILLIAM P. FISKE, Esq.

Librarian.

Rev. CHARLES L. TAPPAN.

Necrologist.

Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER.

Library Committee.

Hon. JOHN J. BELL,

Col. J. E. PECKER,

Rev. N. F. CARTER.

Publishing Committee.

Hon. CHARLES H. BELL,

Hon. BENJAMIN F. PRESCOTT,

Hon. GEORGE L. BALCOM.

Standing Committee.

Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER,

JOSEPH C. A. HILL, Esq.,

Gen. HOWARD L. PORTER.

Auditor.

ISAAC K. GAGE, Esq.

President Bell, on taking the chair, returned thanks for the distinguished honor conferred.

The Recording Secretary was duly sworn by Hon. John J. Bell, a justice of the peace.

On motion of Hon. S. C. Eastman,

Voted, That an assessment of three dollars be levied upon each resident member of the Society, for the ensuing year.

Hon. Joseph B. Walker offered the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the chair to invite such persons throughout the state, as have manuscript records of the several churches in their custody, and are disposed to do so, to deposit the same in the fire-proof vault of this Society, on such terms as may be agreed upon by said committee and the present custodians, the same to be open to the examination, under the rules of the library, of parties wishing to consult the same.

President Bell subsequently appointed as such committee :

Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER,
Hon. GEORGE L. BALCOM,
EDSON C. EASTMAN, Esq.

Rev. N. F. Carter offered the following resolution, which, after some discussion, was adopted :

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to investigate in regard to the things deposited here for safe keeping or storage, and make such disposition of the same as they shall think best ; and fix a proper rental for those that are allowed to remain.

Under this resolution the President appointed as such committee :

Rev. N. F. CARTER,
Hon. AMOS HADLEY,
ISAAC K. GAGE, Esq.

The following is the action taken by said committee :

CONCORD, July 15, 1891.

The special committee, appointed under a resolution adopted at the last annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society, "to investigate in regard to the things deposited here for safe keeping or storage, and make such disposition of the same as they shall think best, and fix a proper rental for those that are allowed to remain," have, after investigation, reached the following conclusions :

1. That, in view of the crowded condition of the Society's rooms, it is not expedient that they be used for the mere safe keeping or storage of property not belonging to the Society.

2. That the librarian is hereby instructed to collect rent on articles so stored, except books and manuscripts intended ulti-

mately to come into the possession of the Society, as follows :
For a box, five dollars per annum ; for an alcove, twenty-five
dollars per annum.

N. F. CARTER,
AMOS HADLEY,
ISAAC K. GAGE,
Committee.

On motion of Mr. John C. Ordway, it was

Voted, That the recommendations of the librarian, with
reference to heating the building, be referred to the Standing
Committee, with full power to carry such recommendations
into effect.

Hon. George L. Balcom introduced the following resolution,
which was adopted :

Resolved, That the Standing Committee is hereby authorized
to erect two or more alcoves at the south end of the third floor,
and offer them to the religious denominations of the state to fill
with their publications, of local historical character, the same
to be the property of the Historical Society, but always to be
accessible at reasonable times to all.

On motion of Hon. Amos Hadley,—

Voted, That a committee on literary exercises, to procure
speakers, etc., be appointed.

The President named as such committee,—

Hon. AMOS HADLEY,
Hon. LYMAN D. STEVENS,
Hon. SAMUEL C. EASTMAN.

On motion of Col. J. E. Pecker, a committee of three was
appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the annual
field-day, consisting of

Col. J. E. PECKER,
ISAAC K. GAGE, Esq.,
Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER,

and subsequently, GEORGE L. BALCOM was added to the com-
mittee, on motion of Mr. Walker.

Voted, That when we adjourn, it be to meet again at 2
o'clock this afternoon.

Voted to adjourn.

AFTERNOON.

The meeting of the Society was called to order by the President at 2 o'clock, and the retiring President, Hon. Samuel C. Eastman, delivered the annual address, taking for his subject, "Tendencies toward Socialism."

ADDRESS OF HON. SAMUEL C. EASTMAN.

The sphere and scope of a historical society is generally regarded as embracing the collection of books, papers, and memorials relating to events that have already occurred and are now occurring in the development of our social and political institutions. It is as a recorder of what is done, rather than as a factor in the conflicts of the day, that it has its chief mission. As such a recorder and gatherer of the materials from which future generations, freed from the prejudices of the participants, may enter a judgment upon the results as well as upon the contributions of individuals or parties to those results, it is very comprehensive and catholic in its aims. *Nihil humani alienum*—"Nothing which belongs to humanity is foreign"—is its motto.

It is to this avoidance of active participation in the strifes and contentions of contemporary life that we owe the quiet and seclusion of societies like ours and the harmony which pervades them.

I desire, however, to-day to break away from the customary bounds, and to ask your attention to a few suggestions bearing upon questions which are being forced upon our attention at every turn.

There have been many great changes wrought in the social and civil relations of mankind by violent overturning of the existing order. Such crises in the world's history are appropriately characterized as revolutions. The abruptness of the reform, the surprise with which it overwhelms its victims, the dramatic culmination of the events, all conspire to call the attention of the world to the great principles which seem to be underlying the acts and to be their producing cause.

But there are other revolutions, no less marked in their

results and no less instructive in the principles which they teach, which require a series of years for their growth and development, and whose progress is so slow that it is almost impossible to say when their culmination and general acceptance is reached. Yet the results of these revolutions—evolutions they might, and perhaps should, be called—are no less momentous and important to our social and political growth than are those decided and marked changes which are accepted as turning-points in human development.

Such a change has been silently, but steadily and surely, accomplished in our own state in legal procedure. A short generation ago we were tied hand and foot by that complex and arbitrary system of special pleading inherited from our English progenitors, the acquisition of which in its entirety demanded years of study. To-day all that learning, like the rules of the school-men, is nearly obsolete, and no one can tell when it was done.

In our reverence for a written constitution it may be that we neglect to see whither certain tendencies of the age are leading us, and we may be in danger of continuing to cherish certain formulas long after we have ceased to act upon the principles which they inculcate.

Without discussing at the present time the expediency or desirability of the theory which is the ground-work of this school of thought, I desire to call your attention for a few minutes to one phase of this drifting process, and to ask you to consider whether one of these silent revolutions has or has not begun. Because we disapprove of a principle in theory it by no means follows that we are not adopting it in practice. Use reconciles us to many things that we fancy we abhor, and enables us to discover a little good where to our more distant vision only evil prevailed.

We are accustomed to say that our forefathers came here to obtain a degree of freedom and liberty that was denied to them at home. We believe, and have been taught to believe, that while government formerly consisted in the control of the masses by and for the benefit of the favored few who ruled, our constitution is founded on the liberty of every individual

and his freedom from control by any class. As has sometimes been said, we recognize that man retains all rights except those surrendered to society to enable men to live together. Really the abstract statement is broad and elastic, and it is only the application that need occasion difference of opinion.

Herbert Spencer, very much in the spirit of the framers of our constitution, gives his conception of liberty as that state of things where "every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the like freedom of any other man." If "all men are created equal," and if every man has a right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," as our Declaration of Independence so proudly declared, then it is the claim of men like Herbert Spencer, that the state has no right to interfere with the liberty of a man to do what he likes except so far as to prevent his interfering with the like rights of others. The more common way of expressing it is, that each man surrenders some of his rights to society to enable society to exist and to prevent the encroachment by the strong upon the weak, but this always with the limitation that it is for the purpose of the protection of the rights not surrendered.

On the other hand we have a class of reasoners and reformers who contend for quite a different theory of society and government, while they object equally with the most strenuous advocate of individual liberty, to any divinely constituted or hereditary ruler, whether it be of a class or of a single man like the Czar of Russia. They say that the proper scope of society as an organized whole is to do all that can be done by organization. One class would leave to individual action everything except that which *must* be done by society or by government, for in this connection the words are almost synonymous. The other would have everything done by society that can possibly be done by concerted action, leaving, to the individual, freedom of action in those things only which the state cannot control.

We give the name socialism to the faith which looks towards the latter result. It has had many apostles and there have been many abortive attempts to realize its ideal. Sometimes they have been united with a peculiar religious faith like Shakerism and Mormonism, and sometimes with an entire absence of any

religious faith like Fourierism and the plans of some of the other French socialist leaders.

The most striking literary presentation of socialistic ideas of the present day carried out to the full logical result, is to be found in Bellamy's entertaining story, "Looking Backward," while among the more thoughtful books upon the same subject are Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" and Gronlund's "Coöperative Commonwealth," or "Modern Socialism."

Without considering the question as to which of the two theories of social science is the more preferable, or the very interesting problem of how the nature of mankind is to be reconciled with the actual realization of the socialist theory, let us examine a little into the tendency of the present age. Are we, in fact, in this country, which we fondly believe to be the sacred home of liberty, acting on the theory that the state shall intervene to limit the freedom of the individual only when it must do so to preserve the rights of other individuals, or are we tending more and more to the conclusion that this, that, and the other thing shall be done by the state, because thereby the good of the whole number is better secured?

The first duty of the state is to protect the individual in his life and property. On the theory of individual freedom of action laid down by Spencer, the state has done its whole duty when by its police and its criminal courts it has either prevented injuries to person and property, or furnished a prompt punishment for the infraction of laws made for their prevention. The individual, prevented from injuring other individuals, is left free to secure his subsistence and his happiness as he can. He may deal with others or not, as he likes. If he does contract with others, he does so at his own peril. But we do not confine ourselves to this very narrow construction of liberty, but extend the protection of our courts so far as to compel every man to do as he agrees.

What more is left for the independent theory of individual freedom? Is not the whole of interference by the state in domestic matters entirely comprised in this one direction of preventing us from using our liberty to the injury of our neighbors?

Society is not impossible on this theory, however imperfect would be its development. In the early stages of settlement, when population is widely scattered, there are, and have been, in our own land vast tracts of territory and great numbers of individuals who came in contact with the state only when there was a violation of some of their rights by others.

The very next step towards social progress is one of coöperation, and coöperation, too, under the guidance and control of the state. Man is a social being, and longs for social intercourse. No man can produce all that he needs for the comfort and happiness of himself and of his family. Roads by which he may seek others, for society or trade, are an absolute necessity. One man may build one road for his own use, but one road does not suffice. Individual action simply sanctioned by the state may build some turnpikes. It is soon found that even these great thoroughfares can be built and maintained more economically by the state, and at once the construction of common highways is taken from the individual and managed by society as a whole.

It is not enough to say to the individual (on the theory of individual freedom) that his money is wanted as a highway tax because it can thus be made to produce better results. His answer is, That may be, but my rights of freedom, my right of doing as I like provided I don't injure my neighbor's like rights, forbid your taking my money without my consent, even if I ought to believe and do actually know that you will spend it to my advantage.

The socialist is ready with his answer: You are a member of the community, and the state is your guardian. All men must contribute to the common good, and all have certain common rights of protection and benefit.

Then again, to take up a branch of service cognate to that of roads, individuals could and would have provided for the transportation of letters. But as a result in part, doubtless, of the increased facility of transportation, the state in all civilized countries has taken upon itself the delivery of letters, and even excluded the individual from entering into competition with it. The universally accepted and satisfactory reason for this is

that by means of this compulsory coöperation conducted by the state in behalf of its citizens, the duty is performed better and more economically than it could be if it were left to individual enterprise. It is not because the service cannot be performed by individuals, for we see the cognate service of carrying small parcels promptly and efficiently executed without governmental control and at reasonably satisfactory rates.

The socialist says that every individual is entitled to his fair share of the products of the labor of all, and one of his dreams is that in some way there shall be an equal distribution according to the needs of each. The independent individual freedom theory, on the other hand, will have each man to hunt for himself. The weak and inefficient must necessarily have a smaller share of the good things of this world than the strong and naturally gifted can acquire. But we have made concessions to this demand of the socialist by providing for state aid to those who for any cause are unable to support themselves, to the extent at least of such food, shelter, and clothing as will support life. This does not satisfy the socialist, for he claims it as a right, without the deprivation of social and political rights which are everywhere the concomitant of pauper aid. If a man reduces himself to the need of asking for state aid by his own self-indulgence, by refusing to contribute his labor to the common good, by drunkenness, or by any offence against society, the state, even from the true socialist standpoint, is justified in punishing him as a criminal. But for the morally sound but unfortunate the socialist claims the aid and support of the state as an honorable right.

Even in this direction, the legislation of to-day is taking steps that a century ago would have been regarded as strides. Setting aside the homes for the aged, the hospitals, the asylums, and the numberless charities provided by voluntary private enterprise, we have the state homes for soldiers, and the state asylums for the insane, and other places of refuge in our land. Even more is done in the countries of Europe, which we have been too wont to regard as lacking a true spirit of governmental regard for the weaker classes. Germany, under the guidance of Bismarck, adopted a kind of national insurance against the

wants of old age. Last winter Denmark, a constitutional monarchy, passed a law giving to every workman who has reached sixty years a comfortable support, without loss of any political rights, provided that for ten years prior, he has supported himself by his labor and has not been punished for crime. This is a recognition of socialist theories in a quarter where it was to be least looked for.

For the state, from a social standpoint, or what is the same thing, a subdivision of the state to furnish water for the people, is now so common that it is almost recognized as a duty. Justification for this invasion of individual freedom, can be found only by recourse to the assertion that governmental coöperation in this direction is for the good of all, and therefore that all ought to contribute it according to their ability, and share according to their needs.

The common education of the children at the public cost may, and does, have an additional reason, namely, that the state, for its protection, must secure intelligent citizens; but it has also its root in part, in the state coöperation, more advantageous to the whole, than individual action.

The socialist also calls attention to the fact that the present century has witnessed a great revolution in all branches of production. There is hardly a single industry in which success is not dependent upon the fact of division of labor and intelligent combination of the results. To secure the best results, and avoid the waste which follows independent efforts, enterprises must be conducted on a large scale. To take those branches which are most familiar to us, it is sufficient to note that only the large cotton mills, where the cost of supervision is distributed over a vast production, are able to show profits corresponding to the outlay, while the smaller concerns struggle on in hopeless efforts to maintain their existence.

It seems to be a natural result of this law of combined effort, that we have the gigantic trusts, which have produced the enormous fortunes of the age, while at the same time reducing the cost of the product to the consumer. It is one of the boasts of the Standard Oil Trust, that under its rule, the price of oil has steadily and regularly fallen, while the quality of its

product has as steadily and regularly improved. It is not strange, that in spite of the prejudice of the public against monopolies, even when they are not created by special privileges such as characterized the Elizabethan period and earlier periods of English history, this example has been imitated, and the Sugar and other trusts have been developed as if by magic.

In the West, also, on the fertile prairies where it seems as if only an abundant supply of rain was needed to secure a bountiful crop, the best results have been obtained on large farms of thousands of acres under one management, where the operations are conducted simply with a view to getting the largest returns, regardless of the development and growth of the state.

Then, on the other hand, we have the so called Trades Unions and other associations of individual laborers, whose aim is to enable them to meet on more equal terms those who control these large industries. While the aim of the managers is to secure the profit to themselves, the object of the laborers, by their combinations, is to secure a larger share of the profit to those whose labor forms such an essential part of the result. It is true, that controlled as they sometimes are by men of little wisdom and of selfish aims, they often, by injudicious strikes, do more harm than good to the cause they have at heart. There are not wanting cases, however, where, as in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, they have profited by their experience, and learned to direct their efforts towards ends which are productive of good to their calling and to society.

Without this coöperation or combination, many of the beneficial enterprises of the age would be impossible. How but by the agency of some such organization as the Pullman Company could we have the sleeping-car, running in the uninterrupted course so essential to the use half way across our continent? How, except by governmental interference, could we have good service around the globe by the telegraph? The telephone would lose the larger part of its value, were it not for the combination of its users in the Exchange.

In whatever direction we turn, the fact stares us in the face, that more and more we are drifting away from the principle of individualism. Everyone is compelled constantly to surrender

his own control over his interests and to become a part—and commonly a small and insignificant part—of some great whole. Just as fast as we get away from that condition of life where man cultivates his own farm with his own hands and those of his family, is his own carpenter, blacksmith, and tailor, and even weaves the cloth for his clothes out of the products of his soil, he becomes a unit, whose identity is absorbed and swallowed up in the great mass of humanity, and is dependent upon the labors and efforts of his fellow men. If we look back for a century—nay, for a half century—at the departure from the liberty of the individual and the progress towards the combined action, which is as yet the dream of the socialist, and the stride is marvellous.

It is not my object at this time to espouse the cause of even the more moderate and less exacting apostles of socialism. Even the most advanced among them differ widely from the anarchist, with whom they are frequently found associating, and with whom they are therefore naturally confounded. Both classes are dissatisfied with the present organization of society, and want to see it destroyed—the one because they think we have too much government and want less, and the other because they think we have too little and want a more active interference in all departments of human labor. The socialist is willing to recognize differences in the capacities of the human race, but claims that the state should so control affairs that neither accident nor ability should enable the few to deprive the many of their just share of the rewards of labor.

We all admit the justice of the demand, but appalled by the difficulties which beset us in the constitution of man's natural disposition, we shrink from applying the remedies of the theorists, who see nothing but light in the development of their plans. Yet even the socialist does not demand the immediate acceptance of all his theories, while maintaining their soundness. One will begin his reform by state ownership of land, and sugars taxation under the name of rent.

Others ask for state ownership of telegraphs, and on theory what answer can we make, when we accept the administration of the postal service as an essential part of our policy? An

eminent railroad magnate declares that if he could have the sole management of all the railroads in the United States, he could reduce rates, pay dividends on the whole capital invested in them, and have a handsome surplus. This means that he would save the waste from misdirected effort. The socialist demands that the state assume the control of railroads for the public good. What answer is there to his demand on theory, while we admit that ordinary roads are properly constructed by the state; and what shall be said to his claim of general benefit, when we consider the admission of the manager just spoken of?

If coöperation, rendered possible as it is by the great inventions of the century, produces such surprising results in the cheapening of the cost of so much that is now regarded as a necessary part of our daily life, what answer shall be given to the demand that the profit from this coöperation belongs to the people whose combined labor creates it, and that to secure it to them it must be under the direction of the state.

We all know the objection, that administration of public affairs is corrupt; that we cannot afford to extend the domain of the office holder; that we are merely transferring the power from one set of men to another; that the people as a whole are weak and unfit to rule.

I wish to ask if each and every one of these excuses is not a confession of failure, an acknowledgment of our inability to grapple with the real difficulties of government and rise superior to them.

But whatever conclusion we may come to as to the possibility and desirability of a change in our fundamental ideas of society, are we not to-day confronted with something more than a theory, with a condition, a tendency to which we are silently submitting; and should we not be led to examine into our beliefs, and be prepared to give the reasons for our faith when asked to adopt or reject the wider applications of social coöperation under the rule of the state?

On motion of Hon. J. B. Walker,

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr.

Eastman for his able and interesting address, and that a copy of the same be requested for preservation or publication.

On motion, voted (3 p. m.) to adjourn to the call of the President.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Recording Secretary.

FIRST ADJOURNED ANNUAL MEETING AND FIELD-DAY.

CONCORD, Wednesday, September 30, 1891.

The first adjourned sixty-ninth annual meeting of the Society and annual field-day was held at Claremont and at Charlestown, September 29 and 30, 1891.

The members of the Society, under arrangements made by a special committee consisting of

Col. J. E. PECKER,
Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER,
ISAAC K. GAGE, Esq.,
Hon. GEORGE L. BALCOM,

left Concord at 11 a. m. the 29th inst., arriving at Claremont about 1 p. m.

The visiting members of the Society were received at the station by Hon. George L. Balcom, and escorted to the rooms of the Tremont club and the rooms of the Major Jarvis Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, both of which had been generously tendered for the occasion. In the rooms of the former the members were presented to a large number of the ladies and gentlemen of Claremont, from whom a cordial greeting was received, and with whom an hour was passed in pleasant conversation. The company then proceeded to Grand Army hall, on the same floor, where a most appetizing collation had been prepared by our generous host, Mr. Balcom. President

John J. Bell officiated as master of ceremonies, and grace was said by Rev. James B. Goodrich.

Following the collation, Major Otis F. R. Waite delivered an exceedingly interesting address upon

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CLAREMONT.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have been kindly asked to say something about the early history of Claremont. What is offered has been gathered from sober records, written history, and tradition. If not absolutely correct, there is no one living to contradict it, and it must therefore be accepted as a true story.

The early history of Claremont is not unlike that of other towns in New Hampshire. The privations and hardships endured by the first settlers here were about the same as those experienced by all who started out in the early days to subdue the forests and make for themselves and those dearest to them homes in the wilderness. But it is well for us to contrast our times and circumstances with those of our ancestors a century and a quarter ago.

The first settlement of Claremont was made in 1762, by Moses Spafford and David Lynde. On October 26, 1764, a township by this name, six miles square and containing 24,000 acres, was granted by George III, through authority delegated to Benning Wentworth, governor of the province of New Hampshire, to Josiah Willard, Samuel Ashley, and sixty-eight others, a considerable number of whom came from Connecticut. It received its name from the country seat of Lord Clive, an English general.

The conditions of the grant were that every grantee, his heirs or assigns, should within five years, for each fifty acres contained in his share, cultivate and improve five acres, and continue to improve and settle the same.

That all pine trees within the township fit for masts for the royal navy be carefully preserved for that use, and none to be cut or felled without the crown's special license for doing so first had and obtained, under a penalty of forfeiture of the

right of the offending grantee, his heirs and assigns, and other punishments prescribed by parliament.

To pay for ten years annually for each share the rent of one ear of Indian corn, when lawfully demanded; and from and after the expiration of ten years, one shilling proclamation money, for every hundred acres held by each proprietor, at the council chamber at Portsmouth. This was to be in lieu of all other rents and services whatsoever.

This grant was divided into seventy-five equal shares. Governor Wentworth reserved to himself five hundred acres, which was accounted two shares; one share for a society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts; one share for a glebe for the Church of England; one share for the first settled minister, and one share for the benefit of schools.

The first meeting of the grantees was held at Winchester, on the 2d day of February, 1767.

The proprietors found a few squatters upon their grant, among them Moses Spafford and David Lynde. They, with the others, were content to receive for the improvements they had made, each a deed of sixty acres of land, in such location as the proprietors might select.

In the course of the following summer a considerable number of the proprietors arrived, made settlements, and erected cabins on their respective shares.

The first town meeting was held on the 8th of March, 1768, at the house of Capt. Benjamin Brooks, in the vicinity of Town Hill, latterly better known as Jarvis Hill. Ten voters were present. There were twelve families in town at that time. At an adjourned meeting Benjamin Brooks and Benjamin Sumner were chosen a committee to lay out a highway to Newport.

In the spring of 1767, Benjamin Tyler, a millwright and an ingenious and enterprising mechanic, came from Farmington, Conn., to Claremont on foot. In March of that year the proprietors voted him two acres of land on Sugar river for a mill-yard, with the privilege of the stream, on condition that he build a mill or mills and keep them in repair for ten years. That summer he built the first dam across that river, at West

Claremont, in the same place where the Jarvis and Coy dam now is, and then returned to Farmington. The next March he brought his wife, six children, and his household effects here on an ox sled. There being no roads, he came on the ice of Connecticut river from Bellows Falls. He was delayed at Montague, Mass., several days by a snowstorm, and in the time made a pair of cart wheels for the tavern-keeper, to pay for his entertainment.

In the summer of 1768 Mr. Tyler built, in connection with his dam, saw- and grist-mills, on the north side of the river. At the raising of the frame of the grist-mill, which was no common event, the settlers in the vicinity were present to help, some of them coming twenty miles. Mr. Tyler had brought with him from Connecticut half a barrel of West India rum for this occasion. It was not tapped until the work of raising the frame was finished. Any kind of spirituous liquor was a rarity in town in those days, and some of the men indulged so freely as to be overcome by it, were unable to reach their homes that night, and slept by the side of fallen trees in the forest. Mr. Tyler got out lumber at his saw-mill and superintended the building of many framed houses and barns in the next few years. He was chosen one of the selectmen in 1768, was re-elected several times, and held other offices in the town. He was the grandfather of John Tyler, a widely known millwright, now living here.

The first English child born in town was a son to Moses Spafford, in 1763.

In 1769, the settlement of the town had so far progressed that husbands who had provided cabins, sent for their wives and children, and single men began to consider the subject of matrimony. Barnabas Ellis and Elizabeth Spencer were the first couple married in Claremont, according to the usages of civilized society. There being no one in town empowered to perform the ceremony, the Rev. Bulkley Olcott of Charlestown, was sent for to officiate. There were no roads through the wilderness, and a brother of the bride was sent to act as pioneer for the clergyman, and to procure new rum for the wedding. All the people in town were invited. The ceremony was per-

formed in a log cabin—the largest and best adapted one in the neighborhood for such a gathering. It contained three rooms, and a chamber which was reached by means of a ladder made of spruce poles. The guests were seated upon benches, stools, and blocks of wood. In front of the happy pair was a stand, upon which was a bible, hymn book, and a full tumbler of the beverage provided. The parties being in order, the minister approached the stand, and with becoming dignity, took up the tumbler and after a generous sip of its contents, said, “I wish you joy, my friends, on this occasion.” A chapter from the bible was read, a hymn was sung—the minister reading a line and those present singing each line as read. The marriage knot was then solemnly and duly tied, a long prayer offered, and the ceremony was complete. Then followed toasts, jokes, and merriment, interspersed with black-strap.

Mr. Ellis was one of the early settlers. He filled several town offices, was a lieutenant in the Continental army, and was with Ethan Allen's expedition against Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point, in 1775. He purchased a tract of land on Town Hill, where he lived, honored and respected, and died in 1837, at the age of ninety-five years. The farm continued the home of his youngest son, William Ellis, until his death, in 1880, and is now owned by his grandson, William B. Ellis.

Rev. George Wheaton was called to settle here in the Gospel ministry, agreeably to the Congregational, or Cambridge, platform, and was ordained on February 19, 1772, the exercises being performed in a building on Town Hill, 30 by 40 feet, covered with rough boards, with rude benches for seats, and a floor of earth. This building was used for a school and place of worship. Mr. Wheaton died on June 24, 1773, at the age of twenty-two years. He is said to have been pure and upright and possessed of considerable ability.

By a law in force in early times, at least two tithing-men in each town were annually chosen, whose duty it was “to inspect all licensed houses and inform of all disorders therein committed; and also to inform of all idle and disorderly persons, profane swearers, and Sabbath breakers.” Each of these functionaries was required to carry a black staff two feet long, tipped at one

end with brass or pewter, about three inches, as a badge of office, the same to be provided by the selectmen, at the expense of the town. Either by virtue of their office or by common consent, these tithing-men seemed to have been invested with power to inflict punishment at once upon such as they might find engaged in any misdemeanor during public worship or between the morning and afternoon services on the Sabbath. On one occasion, when meetings were held in the south school house, John, a son of Thomas Gustin, was sentenced "to stand strate upon the bench during the singing of the last psalm, and there to remain until the meeting is dismissed and the people have left the house, for turning round three times, and for not paying attention to Mr. Wheaton while he is preaching."

Rev. Augustine Hibbard, the second minister over the Congregational church and society, was ordained on the 18th of October, 1774, and continued eleven years. During the Revolutionary War he was ardently devoted to the cause of liberty. So fearful was he that he should in any way give countenance to the Royalists, that when an infant was brought to him for baptism, he refused to administer the rite, because he suspected the father—one of the most reputable citizens of the town—was a Tory. In some ways Mr. Hibbard was not just what a minister of the Gospel should be, and the cause of religion did not prosper under his ministration. In 1777, he was appointed chaplain on Col. David Hobart's staff, and subsequently, of Gen. John Stark's brigade, and was in the Battle of Bennington, on August 16, of that year.

In 1773, the Rev. Ranna Cossit commenced his labors as rector of the Episcopal church, at what is now known as the West Parish. He was a firm and outspoken Royalist, which did not accord with the sentiments of a large majority of his society, by reason of which his pastorate, which continued about twelve years, did not result in much good.

That year the frame of the Episcopal church—known as Union church—at West Claremont, was erected, and the building partly finished. In 1800, the tower and belfry were added. In 1806, a bell, weighing 682 pounds, was hung, and soon after an organ—the wonder of the time—was placed in the gal-

lery. This church is now used regularly for religious services. The Rev. Daniel Barber succeeded Mr. Cossit. After a pastorate of nearly twenty-four years, Mr. Barber made a public confession of having embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and was dismissed in 1818.

In 1823, the Rev. Virgil H. Barber, a son of the Rev. Daniel Barber, having become a Roman Catholic priest, bought land and commenced the erection of a church, with school-rooms and dwelling connected with it, just across the way from Union church. A school was kept up there, and was quite successful, for several years. The building was used for a parish church until 1866, when the new Catholic church in the village was ready for occupancy.

The first mass in Claremont—and believed to have been the first in New Hampshire—was celebrated by the Rev. Dr. French of New York, in 1818, at the house of the Rev. Daniel Barber.

In 1779, it was agreed on all hands, that there was need of a new meeting-house for the Congregational society, but there was much difference of opinion as to its location. The subject was discussed at several town meetings without any agreement being reached. In 1785, a meeting-house was built about three quarters of a mile east from Claremont Junction. It was taken down and its timbers and boards removed to the village in 1790, put together again, and was occupied for religious services and for town meetings, until 1835, when the new Congregational meeting-house on Pleasant street was built. Since that time, with various additions and improvements, it has been our Town Hall.

In 1791, Dea. Matthias Stone, at his own expense, erected a meeting-house near where the before named one was first located, and asked the people to accept it as a gift, which, for some reason that does not appear by the records, they, in town meeting, voted not to do.

The Claremont Congregational Society was formed in 1806, and held its first meeting on June 9, of that year. Up to this time parish meetings had been called by the selectmen of the town, and the records kept by the town clerk.

In 1776, a Baptist church of seventeen members was constituted, and in 1785 it was voted by the town that "those people who call themselves baptists pay no more rates to the Congregational order for the future." Rev. John Peckins labored for a time with this church, and after he left they had only occasional preaching until 1829, when the Rev. Leonard Tracy became first settled pastor, and continued eight years. The church in 1827 built a small chapel on High street, which they occupied six years, and in 1834 erected their present meeting-house.

In 1801 the Methodists formed an organization here, which was included in the circuit of Hanover. This was a result of the preaching of Lorenzo Dow, once in four weeks, in the winter of 1798. He was then but about twenty years old. Just prior to 1806, the Rev. Elijah Willard preached for a time with marked success, and was followed by the Rev. Caleb Dustin, who was preacher in charge for quite a number of years, and was also successful as a pastor. Up to 1815 meetings were held at private houses. In that year the Methodists, Baptists, and Universalists united and erected a meeting-house on the spot where Trinity church now stands, and occupied it alternately. In 1821 the Baptists and Universalists sold their shares to the Episcopalians, who, having become owners of two thirds of the property, at once fitted it up for their own exclusive use, and effectually dispossessed the Methodists. In 1826 the Methodists built for themselves a chapel on Sullivan street, the land for which was donated by Mr. Austin Tyler. They occupied this chapel until 1853, when it was sold, converted into dwellings, and the present church building on Central street was erected.

The Universalists, as appears from the foregoing, had some kind of an organization and occasional preaching prior to 1820. A church was organized in 1832, and the Rev. W. S. Balch was settled over it. He continued until March, 1836, and was succeeded by the Rev. J. G. Adams. Their church edifice, on Broad street, was built in 1832, and dedicated on October 24 of that year.

After the termination of the French and Indian War, in 1760,

the Indians did not trouble the settlements along Connecticut river. Game and fish were abundant, and they occasionally resorted in small numbers to their old hunting-grounds in this vicinity, but their visits were few, short, and peaceful. A solitary Indian, of immense size and great strength, by the name of Tousa, who was said to have been chief of a tribe, and was known to have been conspicuous in the bloody raids into Charlestown, Keene, and other places, lingered about the west part of the town and claimed certain territory there as his hunting-ground, on which he mostly stayed. He seemed determined not to relinquish the possessions of his ancestors to the aggressive pale-faces. He was inflated with that jealousy against the whites peculiar to his race. He had frequently warned the white hunters not to trespass upon his ground, and they had generally heeded his warning. He was present at the raising of the frame of Union church in 1773, and expressed deep indignation at the erection of so large a building, appearing to regard it as an encroachment upon his rights. He became crazed with too much fire-water, was boisterous, and loudly threatened to shoot any white hunter who should intrude on his territory. One Timothy Atkins, a full match for Tousa in size and strength, between whom and the Indian a bitter enmity had long existed, hearing these threats, determined to hunt on the forbidden ground. One morning he went off in that direction alone, with his gun heavily charged, after which Tousa was never seen or heard of, and his sudden disappearance was a mystery. In 1854, Josiah Hart, now living, in digging on the territory claimed by Tousa as his hunting-ground, unearthed a skeleton, which from its great size was believed to be that of the last Indian habitué of Claremont.

In 1775 it was the general belief that by reason of the oppressive acts of the British parliament, war with the mother country was inevitable. Much the greater part of the people of Claremont were in favor of open hostility with England, while some regretted the existence of the difficulty, and a few avowed themselves firm Royalists, furnished aid and comfort in various ways to the king and his army, and were denominated Tories.

In 1776 sixteen citizens of Claremont were serving in differ-

ent capacities in the Continental army. Joseph Waite, who had won distinction in the French and Indian War, and also as captain in Rogers's famous corps of Rangers in 1759, commanded a regiment raised for the purpose of invading Canada. He died at Castleton, Vt., on September 13, 1776, a few days after his arrival there, of fever, said to have been induced by wounds, and was buried with military honors.

Samuel Ashley, one of the grantees of the town, was a volunteer aid, with the rank of colonel, on the staff of General Stark, and was in the Battle of Bennington on August 16, 1777. On the 21st of July of that year, twenty-three Claremont men enlisted in Capt. Abel Walker's company of Col. David Hobart's regiment, and all of them participated in that famous battle.

During the Revolutionary War a number of others enlisted and fought on the side of liberty. Several men, suspected of being friendly to the British, left town, going to Canada and elsewhere. Among them was John Brooks, who actually joined the British army and served with it until the end of the war. His farm and all his other property in town was confiscated and sold. After the close of the war and treaty of peace with Great Britain, he returned, and his property was restored to him; but he was treated with coldness, ridicule, and insult by his old neighbors, was greatly mortified, and soon sold his farm and effects and left town.

No favor was shown by the mass of the people to Tories, or those suspected as such, and suspected persons were in imminent danger of the loss of liberty and even life itself, without the formality of legal proceedings. A small company of resolute men, among whom were Timothy Atkins, before named, and two or three of his brothers—all men of unusual size and remarkable strength, activity, and courage—formed a determination to rid the town of all Tories. They solemnly promised to give each other information immediately if a Tory was seen lurking about, and to pursue him instantly; and if capture was impossible, to shoot him, if that could be done. During the war, and especially in the warm seasons, secret agents of the British were scouring the remote parts of the country, picking up whatever information they could and communicating it to their

employers. Scattered along the route from New York to Canada were certain places of rendezvous, where any one of them on his mission might safely be concealed and find means of communication with his compatriots in the neighborhood. About one mile below Claremont village, near Sugar river, is a place famous in Revolutionary times as a resort for Tories, and has since been known as "Tory Hole." So perfectly was this spot adapted to the purposes of its occupants that for a long time they had assembled there without exciting the least suspicion of the active and vigilant Colonists. The Tories in the neighborhood conveyed thither provisions and whatever might be needed by the transient visitors to the place. On one night in the autumn of 1780, a man with a huge pack on his shoulders was seen passing along the road in the vicinity, whose singular movements attracted attention, and he was closely watched. He turned into the woods, and was instantly out of sight. Information of the fact was circulated, and quickly several men assembled at the spot, the ground was reconnoitered, and the secret discovered. The night was very dark, and further search was postponed until daylight next morning. A watch was posted by the path, with instructions to seize or shoot any one who should attempt to pass. Before sunrise a party gathered and renewed the search. As they approached the rendezvous, two men suddenly started up and ran toward a ravine in a dense forest. They were tracked, however, to Connecticut river, where they swam across. The pursuers fastened their guns upon their backs, swam the river, found the tracks of the fugitives, and followed them to the top of Ascutney mountain, where they were discovered asleep. They were captured, and gave their names as Johns and Buel. Having arms with them, they could not be treated as spies, and were therefore held as prisoners of war. They were taken to Charlestown, from there to Boston, and afterward exchanged. Soon after this, one Kentfield was pursued from Tory Hole into Vermont, but he returned in a few days, was captured, taken to Charlestown, where he was confined for some time, and, as he could not be convicted as a spy, was released, joined the Continental army, soon deserted, was apprehended, and hung.

Elihu Stevens came to town in 1775. He was a justice of the peace, an ardent Whig, and was frequently called to sit at the examination of persons arrested on suspicion of being Tories. His prejudices against that class were very strong, and persons complained against were oftentimes held by him on very slight proof. His presumption in all such cases was in favor of guilt. Most of those held by him were acquitted by the higher tribunal. Ichabod Hitchcock, who had been known as an active Colonist, was represented by some mischievous person to Mr. Stevens as having become disaffected, and Mr. Stevens ordered his arrest. Mr. Hitchcock was a master builder, and his services as such were so much needed that he did not enter the army; but it was shown on trial that he had employed and paid three persons for service at different times in the war, and he was discharged.

One William McCoy had long been suspected of Toryism, without anything being proved against him. One evening he was seen going toward Tory Hole in company of a stranger, was arrested, and taken before Mr. Stevens for examination. The proof against him was by no means such as would, in ordinary times, against an unsuspected person, be considered sufficient to warrant his being held to answer further, but it was enough to satisfy Mr. Stevens. He found McCoy guilty of treason, and ordered him to be confined in the jail at Charlestown to await trial at the next term of the supreme court. The before named Ichabod Hitchcock, acting as sheriff, was ordered to convey McCoy to prison. He asked the justice if he had prepared a mittimus, who, with some impatience, replied, "Take my horse and carriage; if they will hold out long enough to get him to jail, it is all the mittimus he deserves."

Oliver Ashley of Claremont was a member of the First Provincial congress, which assembled at Exeter, on May 17, 1775. He was an ardent Whig, and very active in devising means for the defence of the Colony. In December of that year, Capt. Joseph Waite was chosen a representative of Claremont, in that congress.

In accordance with an order of the Provincial congress, the census of New Hampshire was taken in 1775, which required

a return of the number of inhabitants; the number of fire-arms in each district fit for use, and the number needed to complete one for every person capable of using them; and selectmen and committees of safety were enjoined to prevent all persons from burning powder in shooting at birds and other game.

The return from Claremont was :

Males under 16 years of age	148
Males from 16 to 50, not in the army	125
All males over 50 years of age	18
Persons gone in the army	1
All females	231
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Total	523
 Number of fire-arms fit for actual service	60
Number wanting	65

At a meeting of the town held on the 15th of June, 1775, Capt. Joseph Waite, Ensign Oliver Ashley, Thomas Gustin, Asa Jones, and Jacob Roys were appointed a committee of safety and invested with almost absolute powers in certain cases. In a sudden emergency they might adopt such measures as they deemed conducive to public safety; take arms and ammunition wherever found, when needed for the equipment of soldiers; arrest and imprison, without warrant, all Tories, and communicate with the general committee of safety in all matters pertaining to the public welfare.

In March, 1776, the Continental congress recommended to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees of safety of the United Colonies, to immediately cause all persons in their respective colonies, who are notoriously disaffected to the cause of America, or who have not associated, and refuse to associate, to defend the arms of the United Colonies against the British fleets and armies, to be disarmed. In compliance with this recommendation, the selectmen of Claremont made a thorough canvass. Of male inhabitants of twenty-one years of age and upward, eighty-four signed a declaration or pledge to defend, by arms, the American colonies; sixteen had taken up arms

and were actually in the Continental army, and thirty-one refused to sign.

We have it from the Rev. Dr. Batchelder's History of the Eastern Diocese, that the committees of safety of the towns of Hanover, Lebanon, and Cornish, met with the committee of safety of the town of Claremont and organized as one general committee to examine sundry persons, inhabitants of Claremont, suspected of being inimical to the liberties of America, who had been cited to appear before the Claremont committee. Twenty-five of those persons who had refused to pledge themselves to the American cause, responded to the summons, among them being Capt. Benjamin Sumner, Samuel Cole, Esq., and the Rev. Ranna Cossit.

Mr. Cossit being called upon said, "I believe the American colonies, in their dispute with Great Britian, which has come to blood, are unjust; but will not take up arms either against the king or country, as my office and circumstances are such that I am not obliged thereto." Witnesses testified to seditious words of Mr. Cossit.

Samuel Cole, Esq., on examination, said, "It is rebellion to take up arms and fight against the king or his troops in the present dispute. Yea, it is more; it is treason to fight against the king, in addition to which I am bound by my oath not to fight against the king." Witnesses were called to prove seditious acts and language of Mr. Cole.

Capt. Benjamin Sumner, on examination, said, "As to the proceeding and conduct of the American colonies in this contest with Great Britian, upon the whole, I cannot agree with them; but I will not take up arms on either side, and if either of you gentlemen can, in private or public debate, convince me of my error, no man on earth shall be more ready to hear than myself."

Several others of the accused declared their sentiments to be the same as those expressed by Captain Sumner, and all said that they would not take up arms on either side, except the before named John Brooks, who said, "I feel for the king's troops and against the Colonists."

After deliberation the committee voted "That it appears to

us on examination, that Capt. Benjamin Sumner, Samuel Cole, Esq., and the Rev. Ranna Cossit, have been chief advisers and dictators to those other persons who have been under examination; and it is our opinion that they might with propriety be confined as having endeavored to stir up sedition in the town of Claremont, and also were against the United Colonies; and their names ought to be returned to the Honorable Provincial Congress for their determination, which the Clerk is hereby directed to do; which we believe may as well serve the general cause as to confine all these persons examined by us."

The persons charged and examined were requested voluntarily to resign their fire-arms and ammunition into the hands of the Claremont committee, which they all agreed to do, and did at once.

In January, 1776, the Provincial Congress appointed a committee, consisting of Benjamin Giles, Esq., Maj. John Bellows, Capt. Nathaniel Sartell Prentice, Mr. Thomas Sparhawk, and Elijah Grout, to examine and try Capt. Benjamin Sumner, Samuel Cole, Esq., and the Rev. Ranna Cossit, of Claremont, and Eleazer Sanger, of Keene, persons reported to be enemies to the liberties of the country; and on conviction thereof, to inflict such punishment or punishments as should seem fit,—not to exceed fine and imprisonment.

On the 10th of the following April, this committee met at Charlestown, and after hearing the accused parties and the evidence offered, gave it as their opinion that the charges were sustained, and "that Benjamin Sumner, Ranna Cossit, and Samuel Cole, be from and after the 12th day of that month, confined within the limits of the town of Claremont during the present contest between Great Britain and the Colonies, unless they shall give bonds for their good behavior; and that neither of them should be seen conversant together upon any occasion, except meeting together at public worship. And if either of them shall not strictly abide by this sentence, and being convicted of a breach of it before the Claremont Committee of Safety, they shall be committed to the common jail, there to abide until released by order of this Committee or the General Assembly of this Colony. Provided, nevertheless, that if Mr.

Cossit shall be called by any of the people of his persuasion specially to officiate in his ministerial office in preaching, baptizing, or visiting the sick, this order is not intended to prohibit him therefrom."

Prior to 1778, and until about the close of the war, there were but two school-houses in town—one on Town hill and the other near Union church. The Whigs sent their children to the former, and the Tories sent theirs to the latter.

In the War of 1812 Claremont did her full duty. Many of her men entered the army, and served for different periods, in different organizations, and at various places.

The War of the Rebellion is of such recent date, that the events connected with it, and what each town in New Hampshire did in relation to it during its continuance, are subjects familiar to us all. It is enough to say that Claremont may justly be proud of the part she performed in that great drama. Her men made for themselves and for the town an honorable record. Our quota of troops under all calls from 1861 to 1865, was 413, and we were credited in the army and navy accounts with 449, or 36 men in excess of our quota. Sixty-seven of our young men were killed in battle, or died of wounds or disease in the service. To commemorate their services and death the grateful people of the town have erected a handsome monument in the public park. It is a granite pedestal seven feet high, surmounted by a bronze figure, of heroic size, of a volunteer infantry soldier at rest. Marble tablets were also placed in the town hall, on which their names, in imperishable letters, are inscribed. In our cemeteries are the graves—some of them yet green—of many others who have died since their discharge, of wounds or disease incurred in the service during the four years of that cruel war.

In 1787, Josiah Stevens, a son of Elihu Stevens, before named, and father of the late Paran Stevens, the famous American hotel proprietor, commenced trade with a small stock of such goods as he thought the inhabitants most needed, in a rude building at the north side of the river, about half a mile from where the town hall now stands. He brought a hogshead of molasses and chest of tea into town, which some of the citi-

zens declared was a piece of foolish extravagance that would certainly lead to no good. In a few years Mr. Stevens moved his building across the river on the ice, and located it near where the Claremont National Bank building now is. He increased his stock from time to time, built up a large business, for many years was the leading merchant in the vicinity, and in many ways contributed to the growth and prosperity of the town.

Gov. Benning Wentworth died in 1770, leaving no children. In his declining years he married a young woman, to whom he bequeathed nearly all of his estate, instead of making his nephew, John Wentworth, his principal legatee, as was supposed he would. John Wentworth had succeeded his uncle in the office of governor of the province of New Hampshire in 1767. He attempted to have his uncle's will set aside, and turned his attention to the reservations made by the latter in township grants. In the grant of Claremont the governor's reservation of five hundred acres to himself embraced the tract long known as the Hubbard farm, in the south-westerly corner of the town, and the islands in Connecticut river opposite to it. The question as to whether these reservations vested the title to the lands in Benning Wentworth, was submitted to the council at Portsmouth, and it was decided in the negative. The next thing to be done was to dispossess all who had derived their titles to the reserved lots from the late governor. This was undertaken through officers of the government by various means. A few, alarmed by threats of law suits, repurchased their titles, while the most of them determined to resist the claim set up by the new governor. Lieut. George Hubbard, father of the late Isaac Hubbard, Esq., was the owner of the governor's reservation in Claremont, and had made considerable improvements upon his lands. He was a just and resolute man, and was not to be deluded, driven, or persuaded to acceptance of the terms held out to him to vacate in favor of the existing governor. His uniform reply to all overtures was, "The law sustains me, if law is common-sense; and neither the governor nor His Majesty King George shall drive me from the soil." An appeal was finally made to the king, and it was

determined that the late governor had full power to convey the lands in question. This tract has been in the possession of Lieut. George Hubbard and his descendants since it was conveyed to him.

In former generations Claremont had for citizens some able and distinguished statesmen, soldiers, and business men.

George B. Upham and his brother Jabez came to Claremont in 1797, and opened a law office in the west part of the town, located a short distance south of the Breck house, and about a hundred rods east of Claremont bridge across Connecticut river. They were born in West Brookfield, Mass., sons of Phineas Upham, and brothers of Phineas Upham, Jr., a merchant prince in Boston in the early part of the present century, who lived in a large and elegant mansion on Mt. Vernon street, directly back of the state house. Jabez Upham remained here but a very few years, when he left his law practice to his younger brother, George B., returned to West Brookfield, was representative in congress from 1807 to 1810, and died in 1811. George B. Upham removed his office to the village, where he continued in the practice of his profession until his death. He was born in 1769, and graduated at Harvard college in 1789. He served a number of years in the New Hampshire house of representatives and was its speaker in 1809, and again in 1815; elected a member of congress in 1801, and declined a reelection. He also declined an appointment to the supreme court bench. Early in Mr. Upham's term in congress an incident occurred illustrating the difference in temper and spirit of the northern and southern character, even in those early days of the republic. The eccentric and irascible John Randolph of Roanoke, had an offensive way of making all New England members whom he could intimidate by his insolence turn out for him on sidewalks or wherever he should chance to meet them. Mr. Upham had heard of this, and soon after his arrival in Washington, met Mr. Randolph on a narrow sidewalk and determined to come to an understanding with the arrogant Virginian then and there. He planted himself on the inside of the walk and they met face to face. Mr. Randolph instantly took the measure of the large and powerfully built New Englander, and

perceiving something in his eye that boded trouble if he persisted, stepped aside and let Mr. Upham pass, not a word being uttered by either of the gentlemen. Ever after that, Mr. Randolph treated Mr. Upham with marked politeness. Mr. Upham had the reputation, for many years, of being one of the best lawyers and safest counsellors in this part of the state. By his practice and economy he accumulated what was for his time a large fortune. He died on February 10, 1848, at the age of seventy-nine years.

Caleb Ellis was born at Walpole, Mass., in 1767, and graduated at Harvard college in 1793. He settled in Claremont about 1800, and opened a law office. He was elected member of congress in 1804, and reëlected in 1806; was a member of the executive council in 1809 and 1810; presidential elector in 1812. In 1813, he was appointed one of the judges of the supreme judicial court of this state, which position he held during the remainder of his life. He died on May 9, 1816, at the age of forty-nine years, leaving, by his will, five thousand dollars to the Congregational society of Claremont. On the occasion of his funeral, the Rev. Stephen Farley, the Congregational minister here, took for a text, Proverbs x: vii, "The memory of the just is blessed," and from it delivered a most eloquent discourse, in which he said,—“In private life Mr. Ellis was eminently inoffensive, amiable, and exemplary. He wronged no one; he corrupted no one; he defrauded no one; he slighted no one; he injured no one. His native superiority of mind was improved by very extensive cultivation. His learning was various, profound, and general.” At the opening of the supreme court at Haverhill, in May, 1816, Chief-Justice Jeremiah Smith said, among other things, of Judge Ellis,—“His mind was too lofty to enter into any calculations foreign to the merits of the cause in the discharge of his official duties; neither the merits nor demerits of the parties, nor their connections, however numerous or powerful, could have any influence with him. I am sensible that this is very high praise—a praise that could not, in truth, be bestowed on all good men, nor even on all good judges. But it is praise which Mr. Ellis richly merited.”

The Rev. James B. Howe, who succeeded the Rev. Daniel Barber as rector of the Episcopal church, was born at Dorchester, Mass. For several years preceding his ordination, he was a successful classical teacher in Boston. He settled over this church in 1819, and continued until 1843. Mr. Howe was a man of imposing appearance; always wore the long stockings and short clothes of the olden time; was a true gentleman of the old school, and a conspicuous figure and prominent character of the town for many years, highly respected for his ability and goodness by all who knew him. He was the father of Bishop William B. W. Howe, of South Carolina. He died of apoplexy, in a railroad car, at Albany, N. Y., on September 17, 1844.

Dea. Matthias Stone settled in Claremont about 1770. He was moderator of town meeting in May, 1774; selectman in 1775 and 1776; in 1781, he was a delegate in the conventions held at Charlestown and Cornish, for the purpose of organizing an independent state, composed of the towns between the Masonian line in New Hampshire and the ridge of the Green Mountains in Vermont, known as the New Hampshire grants, and was a member of the New Hampshire convention that adopted the Federal constitution in 1788. He had sixteen children, fourteen of whom came to maturity. He owned the farm known for many years as the Eli Draper farm, about three fourths of a mile from Claremont Junction. He removed to Cabot, Vt., about 1795.

Dr. Leonard Jarvis was born in Boston, in 1774. He took the degree of doctor of medicine in 1795, and being in impaired health, in the autumn of that year he started on horseback into the country, without any particular destination in view. After several days he found himself in Claremont. He was so much pleased with Connecticut river valley, that he bargained for the large and valuable farm on Town Hill, owned by Judge Sanford Kingsbury. For several years he had an extensive practice as a physician. About 1810, when the Spanish Merino sheep were first imported into this country by his cousin, Consul William Jarvis, he bought a large flock and engaged in breeding them and growing fine wool, and also in manufacturing

woolen goods. This business he continued until his death, in February, 1848, at the age of seventy-four years.

Capt. Joseph Taylor was engaged in the Cape Breton war, in 1745, in the French and Indian War, in 1755, and in the Revolutionary War. He was captured by the Indians in 1755, taken to Canada, and sold to the French. For a long time he was kept so closely confined that his friends could learn nothing of him. He finally succeeded, after several attempts, in making his escape, wandered through the woods, subsisting upon what he could find, and after an absence of several years, reached his home. He was one of the selectmen of Claremont in 1773, and for several succeeding years, and died in March, 1813, at the age of eighty-four years.

Samuel Ashley was one of the grantees of the town of Claremont. He was in the Cape Breton War, in 1745; in the French and Indian War, in 1755; and in the War of the Revolution. As before stated, he was aide with the rank of colonel on General Stark's staff, at the Battle of Bennington, on the 16th of August, 1777. He held several important offices in the town, was an influential and useful citizen, and a judge of the court of common pleas. He died in February, 1792.

Sanford Kingsbury was a prominent citizen. In 1789, he was member of the executive council, and state senator in 1790 and 1791, and held offices of honor and trust in the town.

Samuel Fiske, Esq., came from West Brookfield, Mass., to Claremont about the same time that George B. and Jabez Upham came. They were near neighbors at West Brookfield, and here George B. Upham and Mr. Fiske built near together, on Broad street, handsome houses of the same external style, in which they lived on intimate and friendly terms during their respective lives. Mr. Fiske engaged in a general mercantile business, which he continued many years, and was a leading citizen. He died on December 29, 1834, at the age of sixty-five years.

Among the prominent men in town for several years succeeding its first settlement, were Dr. William Sumner, a native of Boston, who came here from Hebron, Conn., in 1768, and

died in March, 1778. Col. Benjamin Sumner was for many years a civil magistrate, and died in May, 1815, at the age of seventy-eight years. Samuel Cole, Esq., who graduated at Yale college in 1731, was one of the first settlers of the town. He was very capable and useful as an instructor of youth. He died at an advanced age.

Claremont's able and distinguished men and women of the present generation need not be named. They are well known.

For a hundred and twenty-five years Claremont has had a steady and healthy growth, which may be attributed largely to the sterling character of the inhabitants, her fine soil and excellent water-power. This power is derived mainly from Sugar river, with a fall of more than three hundred feet in the town, one hundred and fifty feet of which is in the village, in a distance of about half a mile. This river is formed by the outlet of Sunapee lake and the confluence of small streams along its course. It is about twenty miles long, and falls eight hundred and twenty feet to where it empties into the Connecticut river. Sunapee lake is nine and a half miles long, from half a mile to two and a half miles wide, and of unknown depth. By an act of the legislature this lake may be drawn down ten feet when needed by the mills along Sugar river.

We now have two railroads; telegraph and telephone communication; gas and electric lights; two aqueducts, supplying an abundance of excellent water for culinary purposes, and hydrants with pressure sufficient to carry streams over the highest buildings; a steam fire-engine and other efficient apparatus for extinguishing fires, and almost all the advantages of a large village, with a spirit and disposition on the part of the people to keep pretty even pace with the progress of the age; seven churches, in all of which there is stated preaching; graded schools, attended by nearly twelve hundred scholars; a high school, where students are fitted to enter the best colleges; a public library of about seven thousand volumes of books, free for the use of all the inhabitants; national and savings-banks; newspapers; large and prosperous manufacturing establishments; stores, carrying on almost every branch of trade; many large and well tilled farms; a population of about six thousand

men, women, and children, all of whom have comfortable homes and find remunerative employment on the generous soil and in our industrial establishments.

In addition to all this, we claim a kind of proprietorship in Ascutney mountain, an isolated elevation of three thousand feet above the green valley of Connecticut river. Although located in Vermont, it is in plain view from many points in Claremont. Its principal value to us consists in its noble outline and ever-varying lights and shades, contributing much to the beauty of the landscape. Any who have lived in sight of it and gone away, treasure it as a fond remembrance, and come back with feelings akin to those of the mariner as he returns at the end of a long and perilous voyage and sights the cherished landmarks on his native shore.

While the Merrimack turns more spindles than any other river in the world, the Connecticut, which forms the western boundary of the state of New Hampshire and of the town of Claremont, is fully twice as long, and more peaceful and majestic. It is believed that its valley, from Long Island sound to Connecticut lake, is more fertile, its scenery more quietly beautiful, and its inhabitants more comfortable, contented, intelligent, and virtuous, than can be found in the same area elsewhere on the face of the earth.

At the conclusion of the address, Hon. J. B. Walker offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That the heartiest thanks of the Society be hereby tendered to the Tremont club, and to the Major Jarvis Post, G. A. R., for their generous loan to us of their rooms on this occasion.

Resolved, That our sincere thanks are extended to Major Waite for his valuable historical address, and that a copy of the same be hereby solicited for publication in the transactions of this Society.

The company then returned to the rooms of the Tremont club, from which, soon after, carriages were taken for a drive about Claremont. This included a view of its large water-power and important manufactories, the historic "Tory

Hole," and the two old churches at West Claremont. After an inspection of the interior of the ancient Episcopal church, the drive was resumed to Claremont Junction, where the evening train was taken for Charlestown.

The party arrived at Charlestown about 7 o'clock p. m., and quartered at the Eagle hotel. After supper all repaired to the town hall, where an audience was in waiting to greet the members of the Society. The meeting was called to order by President John J. Bell, who spoke briefly of the object of the visit of the Society, and of the holding of annual field meetings. It was to make the members better acquainted with all parts of the state, to increase their knowledge of historic locations, and to create an interest in the work of the Society.

Col. Samuel Webber was first introduced, and gave an interesting account of the early history of the town. He spoke of the old fort, built in 1744, of the old Valley road, of the capture of Mrs. Johnson by the Indians in 1754, and detailed the location of historic sites and buildings.

Rev. M. T. Runnels made a brief address, in which he said that from 1746 to 1760 the number of persons massacred by Indians in Charlestown was fourteen, and the number carried into captivity was twenty-eight. He also spoke of the old Crown Point military road, and the building of a road by Col. John Goffe and his men, connecting with the road from Crown Point.

Further remarks were made by Rev. T. D. Howard and Abraham Hull of Charlestown, and Sylvester M. Stebbins of Gill, Mass.

Mrs. SARAH NYE BENNETT and
H. C. FAY,

both of Claremont, were elected members of the Society, after which the meeting was adjourned subject to the call of the President.

Wednesday morning at 9 o'clock carriages were provided, in which the visitors were taken to points of historic interest in and about Charlestown, including the Johnson house, from which the Johnson family were captured by the Indians in 1754

and carried to Canada. Other points of interest visited were the Cheshire bridge over the Connecticut river, the monument marking the Crown Point road, and the old military trail taken by Gen. John Stark and his men in the Bennington campaign, etc. The party were accompanied by George Olcott, Esq., and others of Charlestown.

Leaving Charlestown at noon, a stop was made at Claremont, the party dining at the Belmont House, and visiting Mr. Balcom in the afternoon, to whose untiring courtesy and generous attention the party were under great obligation.

Returning, Concord was reached at 6:30 p. m.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

SEVENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, Wednesday, June 8, 1892.

The seventieth annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held in the rooms of the Society in Concord, Wednesday, June 8, 1892, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

In the absence of the President, Hon. John J. Bell, the senior Vice-President, Hon. Amos Hadley, called the meeting to order and read a letter from President Bell expressing regret at his unavoidable absence.

The records of the last annual meeting, adjourned meetings, and field day, were read by the secretary and approved.

The Recording Secretary made a verbal report with reference to new members, which was accepted.

On motion of Rev. C. L. Tappan, a committee of three to present the names of candidates for admission to the Society was appointed by the chair as follows:

REV. C. L. TAPPAN,
ISAAC K. GAGE, Esq.,
Col. J. EASTMAN PECKER.

On motion of the same gentleman, a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year was appointed by the chair, as follows:

Hon. JOHN KIMBALL,
Rev. N. F. CARTER,
J. R. KIMBALL, M. D.

The annual report of the Treasurer, William P. Fiske, Esq., was submitted, and by vote accepted and ordered to be placed on file. The report was as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

To the New Hampshire Historical Society:

The Treasurer respectfully submits the following report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending June 7, 1892:

RECEIPTS.

Balance from last year,	\$11,408.32
By cash received for assessments,	417.00
“ “ books and pamphlets sold,	4.75
“ “ interest on funds,	550.88
“ “ state appropriation,	500.00
“ “ state bonds paid,	200.00
	————— \$13,080.95

EXPENDITURES.

To paid salary of Librarian,	\$500.00
“ books purchased,	51.50
“ insurance,	20.82
“ water rent,	4.00
“ B. F. Stevens, London, for papers,	500.00
“ printing,	11.75
“ repairs,	3.75
“ advertising meetings,	8.75
“ sundry expenses,	4.11
“ C. L. Tappan, office expenses,	60.43
“ account of investments,	200.00
	————— \$1,365.11
	————— \$11,715.84

Balance :	
Permanent fund,	\$10,000.00
Current funds,	1,715.84
	<hr/> \$11,715.84

Respectfully submitted :

W. P. FISKE, *Treasurer.*

I hereby certify that I have examined the foregoing account of William P. Fiske, Treasurer of the New Hampshire Historical Society, and find the same correctly cast and sustained by proper vouchers.

ISAAC K. GAGE, *Auditor.*

Concord, N. H., June 8, 1892.

The Librarian, Rev. Charles L. Tappan, presented his annual report, which, on motion, was accepted and ordered to be placed on file. The report was as follows :

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

To the Annual Meeting of the N. H. Historical Society :

The Librarian respectfully presents his annual report for the year ending June 8, 1892.

The library has been increased during the past year by the addition of 149 bound volumes, and 569 pamphlets.

Bound volumes in the library as reported last year, 11,394.

Bound volumes in the library as reported this year, 11,543.

Books purchased :

Biographical Encyclopedia,	\$30.00
History of Merrimack County,	4.00
“ Salisbury,	4.00
“ Haverhill, Mass.,	5.00
“ Nottingham, &c.,	3.00
Granite Monthly for 1892,	1.50
Roll of N. H. Soldiers at Bennington,	1.00

Books bound :

9 volumes of pamphlets,	4.50	
	<hr/>	\$53.00

Among the books presented to the Library is the History of Sutton, in two volumes, by the compiler, Mrs. Augusta Harvey Worthen.

The library has received during the past year the Magazine

of American History from P. B. Cogswell; the Gen. and Hist. Register from the N. E. Gen. and Hist. Society; and the same newspapers as last year from their respective publishers.

The library has been open from half-past 9 a. m. to 12 o'clock m., and from half-past 1 to half-past 4 p. m. every day, except Sundays and Saturday in the afternoon. It has been well patronized.

More shelf room is very much needed for the accommodation of the books now in the library and those which are being constantly added. The shelves are crowded.

We are receiving the publications of most of the state historical societies regularly, but we make little, if any, return for the same. How long they will continue to send them to our library without a return is a question that time will answer. Would it not be well to publish some of the many valuable historical papers in the library? They could be used in exchange to advantage. The growth of the library is certainly desirable. Would it not be wise to secure a good healthy growth by devoting a certain amount to the purchase of town, state, and national histories, and genealogies of families, each year? Many valuable historical and genealogical books are passing beyond reach; just such books as should be in the library, and may be if the Society so determines. It is not enough carefully to set out a tree, even in good soil; it must be constantly cared for afterwards, and fed with that nourishment which its nature demands for its growth, usefulness, and beauty. The same is true of a library, particularly an historical library. It is a benevolent work, and more—a Christian work, to establish and build up a library of the records of past and passing events for generations to come. For want of means this Society must go slow in its legitimate work. It can do but little, but let that little be done constantly, and in process of time, as the years pass along, much will be accomplished, and a healthy growth assured.

Respectfully submitted:

CHARLES L. TAPPAN,
Librarian.

The Hon. Joseph B. Walker, for the Standing Committee, made a verbal report, and presented some suggestions, including the procuring of a full set of town histories of this state, complete sets of the histories of the United States, etc., and offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars (\$250) be hereby appropriated for the purchase of new books for the library.

Resolved, That the publications of the Society be resumed at as early a day as the Publication Committee deem proper.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be hereby tendered to Mrs. Calvin Thorn and Mrs. John C. Ordway for the present of flowers on this occasion.

Hon. L. D. Stevens, for the Committee on Literary Exercises appointed at the last annual meeting, announced that the committee had invited Rev. Henry A. Hazen, D. D., of Massachusetts, to deliver the annual address; that the invitation had been accepted, and that the address would be given this afternoon at 2 o'clock.

Rev. C. L. Tappan, for the Committee on New Members, reported the following names:

Herman Weed Stevens, Dover; Rev. Albert H. Thompson, Raymond; Trueworthy Ladd Fowler, East Pembroke; John B. Hazelton, Esq., Suncook; Rev. Lucius Waterman, Littleton; Hon. Cyrus Sargeant, Plymouth; William Yeaton, Esq., Concord; Thomas D. Luce, Esq., Nashua;

And they were severally elected by ballot resident members of the Society.

The Hon. John Kimball, from the Committee on Nomination of Officers, reported the following, who were unanimously elected:

President.

Hon. JOHN J. BELL.

Vice-Presidents.

Hon. AMOS HADLEY,

Hon. BENJAMIN A. KIMBALL.

Recording Secretary.

JOHN C. ORDWAY, Esq.

Corresponding Secretary.

Hon. SYLVESTER DANA.

Treasurer.

WILLIAM P. FISKE, Esq.

Librarian.

Rev. CHARLES L. TAPPAN.

Necrologist.

Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER.

Library Committee.

Hon. JOHN J. BELL,
 Rev. N. F. CARTER,
 Col. J. EASTMAN PECKER.

Publishing Committee.

Hon. A. S. BATCHELLOR,
 Rev. C. L. TAPPAN,
 Hon. GEORGE L. BALCOM.

Standing Committee.

Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER,
 JOSEPH C. A. HILL, Esq.,
 Gen. HOWARD L. PORTER.

Auditor.

ISAAC K. GAGE, Esq.

The Librarian presented the following communication from Gen. Henry M. Baker, accompanying a gift of a framed photo-lithographic copy of the original order of Gen. John A. Dix, "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot."

COMMUNICATION OF GEN. HENRY M. BAKER.

Bow, N. H., Feb. 22, 1892.

Hon. John J. Bell, President N. H. Historical Society:

‡ DEAR SIR: I present herewith to the New Hampshire Historical Society a framed photo-lithographic copy of the original

patriotic order of Gen. John A. Dix, written with his own hand, in which he used the immortal words, "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot."

Gen. John Adams Dix was born in Boscawen, this state, July 24, 1798. He held more offices, civil and military, than any other of our public men, and was distinguished alike in war and peace.

Wherever he was, confidence found a home, subordinates were inspired with zeal in the discharge of duty, and the people recognized a true leader, incorruptible and fearless. He was essentially a man of action, but is not without reputation as a scholar and author. Of all the distinguished sons of New Hampshire, he was the most versatile and the most successful in the greatest number of different offices. He became secretary of the treasury in the closing months of President Buchanan's administration. Treason was rampant in high places, but henceforth patriotism reigned in the treasury department. Public credit was restored, and the government enabled to secure the funds necessary to its existence. While secretary, he wrote the famous order which Americans will not let die. The revenue cutters at New Orleans were in danger of being seized by the rebels, and it was decided to send William Hemphill Jones, of the treasury department, to New Orleans, with special instructions and authority to save them. Those instructions were prepared and signed, when it occurred to the secretary that they were not specific enough, if resistance to his orders should be attempted. He then wrote with his own hand the supplementary order, a copy of which is presented herewith. This explanation will account for the order being in the form of a memorandum.

I know of no place where this order can find a more fitting home than in our Historical Society, and I beg you to accept it, and give it an appropriate position among the collections.

Very truly yours,

HENRY M. BAKER.

On motion of Hon. J. C. A. Wingate, the gift was accepted, and the thanks of the Society returned to the donor.

Hon. A. S. Batchellor spoke of the Calendar, or Index, of papers, pertaining to New Hampshire, now in London, and which is being published by the state; and on motion of Hon. J. B. Walker, the subject of procuring extra copies of the same was referred to the Committee on Publication, with full powers.

Hon. A. S. Batchellor also offered the following vote, which was adopted :

Voted, That a committee of three be appointed to see what measures can be taken to secure the preparation and publication of the naval history of New Hampshire under the provisions of the regimental history legislation of the state ; and

Hon. ALBERT S. WAIT, of Newport,
Hon. P. B. COGSWELL, of Concord,
Hon. J. C. A. WINGATE, of Stratham,

were appointed said committee.

On motion of Col. J. E. Pecker, it was voted that the annual field day of the Society shall be observed at Plymouth, at such time as a special committee of three, to be appointed, shall designate. And the Chair subsequently appointed as such committee :

Col. J. E. PECKER,
Hon. A. S. BATCHELLOR,
Hon. CYRUS SARGEANT.

On motion of J. C. A. Hill, Esq.,

Voted, That the annual assessment for the ensuing year, be \$3.00 for each resident member.

Hon. John Kimball, in behalf of the commissioners appointed by the governor and council to provide for the preservation and protection of the Endicut Rock, at the Weirs, in the town of Laconia, invited the Society to attend the observance of the 240th anniversary of the marking of Endicut Rock at the Weirs, and to take part in the public ceremonies of the day ; and to select some person to represent the Society in a brief address.

The Society voted to accept the invitation, and request President J. J. Bell to speak for the Society on that occasion, or in case of inability to attend, to select some other member to act for him.

Adjourned to 2 o'clock p. m.

The Society re-assembled at 2 o'clock in the afternoon ; Vice-President Hadley in the chair.

On motion of Rev. C. L. Tappan,

Voted, That Hon. Chester B. Jordan, of Lancaster, be invited to prepare a memoir of Col. Joseph Whipple, the pioneer of Dartmouth, to be delivered before the Society, in Concord, some time the coming winter.

The Rev. Henry A. Hazen, D. D., of Massachusetts, was then introduced, and delivered the annual address—subject,

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND VERMONT : AN HISTORICAL STUDY.

A loyal son of Vermont, bidden by your kind favor to address the New Hampshire Historical Society, I find a natural and inviting theme in a study of the common history of these sister states, with some of the parallels and contrasts suggested by such a review.

In the great sisterhood of American states constituting our continental republic, Vermont and New Hampshire stand side by side, in a relationship very near, and in some respects unique. Their united territory forms a parallelogram, approximately 160 miles long and 120 miles broad, bisected by the diagonal course of the Connecticut river, which gives New Hampshire two thirds of the whole breadth at the south line, and Vermont two thirds at the north line. Vermont has slightly the larger area. By the census of 1880, New Hampshire has 9,005 square miles, and Vermont 9,135. Some authorities give Vermont a larger area.

If I were geologically wise, and able to explore with you the "story of the rocks," and alluvial deposit, we might traverse fields of great interest. Whether in such a discussion I could show Mansfield to be older than Washington, or Champlain more recent than Winnipiseogee, in the vast periods of planetary formation, are questions beyond our present range. But if the old world is the newer, as science assures us, the Vermont of a 100 years' history, may geologically outrank her elder sister,

and imagination may take a wide and interested flight among such fancies.

But limiting ourselves to the history, which is your province, New Hampshire has twice the age of Vermont.

And yet, we may remind ourselves, that a European saw the sun rise over the Green mountains, some years earlier than the White mountains come within the range of human records. Champlain sailed up the beautiful lake, whose name is his best monument, in 1609—11 years earlier than the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, and 14 years before the Hiltons came to New Hampshire. But the Hiltons were Englishmen, and Champlain was a Frenchman; they had come to stay, and develop the staying qualities of the Anglo-Saxon; and it was not till the same race appeared at Bennington, almost 150 years after, that Vermont history began. Judged by American standards, then, New Hampshire is old, and Vermont is young; though on a wider scale of comparison, European, or Asiatic, each is alike modern,—and the difference of 125 years between them, is too trifling to weigh much in comparative estimates. Yet, it is only truth to say that the Vermont of to-day, cannot be rightly understood, if we overlook the fact how brief her record is, and that the children of men who, with Allen and Chittenden and Warner helped to lay the foundations, still survive to tell her story, with some of the animation, caught from the very actors.

Each state has a large element of romance interwoven with its beginnings. You, who are more familiar than I with the early life of New Hampshire, understand this very well. You know that the more carefully this mine is explored, the more attractive it becomes. Heroism is not wanting which would have illumined the pages of English or Roman story. As your children of coming generations study these records they will become brighter, and this not simply on the familiar principle of distance lending enchantment. They will, in fact, be better understood. Those who come after us will know better than we do, the difficulties with which the early New Hampshire men had to contend, and will be prepared to do more exact justice to the patience, courage, and wisdom with which they planted their homes in the wilderness, guarded

their precious heritage from foes within and without, and reared the structure of the state to the fair proportions she has reached. Growths of this kind can be neither hasty nor accidental. Nothing in history is accidental, and the harvest always shows what kind of seed has been sown. The faith, the courage, the prayers, the patriotism of generations of earnest men and women are interwoven in the fabric of New Hampshire's heritage, as she comes into your keeping.

It would be interesting to single out and dwell upon illustrations of what I have in mind; but the single instance of the Lovewell expedition and its results, is the only one I can allude to. For two generations the dark cloud of Indian perils had hung over the colony. Settlements were restricted, inviting fields were left unoccupied, and occasionally the shrill war whoop sounded the death-knell of some unsuspecting settler. The situation had become intolerable to brave men, and at last they gathered up their scanty forces and went forth to grapple with the stealthy foe on his own ground. The skill, the courage, the endurance which found expression in that tedious march into the depths of the wilderness, and the successful struggle by Pequawkett were masterly. A braver deed has rarely shown manhood at its best. It will yet inspire higher and truer strains than the good minister of Haverhill was master of. The result was decisive, and the fear of the red men ceased to disturb the dreams of eastern and southern New Hampshire. When our civilization is older, and we come to appreciate, as we do not yet, the significance of monumental remembrance of our heroic men, New Hampshire will, in some such form, teach her children to remember and honor John Lovewell and Seth Wyman.

Vermont vies with New Hampshire in the picturesque and romantic elements of her early life. The beautiful virgin wilderness awaiting the occupancy of civilized man; the contest of New York and New Hampshire for its possession; the sturdy settlers gradually finding out that their own interests were not identical with those of either contestant, or secure in their keeping, and the increasing clearness and force with which they came to the discovery and defence of their own

rights, asserting them against all comers, are elements of a story fascinating and instructive. Misunderstood or opposed by their neighbors on every side, the Green Mountain Boys maintained their ground with a statesmanship which, on broader fields, must have been recognized as masterly. And, at last, after fourteen years of practical independence, when the United States was ready to welcome them, without haste, but with some hesitation, they yielded, and Vermont became the eldest daughter of the new republic.

On one point we may recognize, and I am sure a New Hampshire Society will agree with me in remarking, the superior felicity of Vermont, in her name. Our best state names are those which are indigenous with a flavor of the soil—American in the best sense—and some of them in dignity and fitness are of supreme excellence. Ohio, Alabama, and Oregon could not be improved. For such use, a compound name is necessarily bad, and when it is a foreign importation it is much the worse; and the double misfortune is yours. If your founders had been given the wisdom to choose from among such names as Merrimack, Pascataqua, Chocorua, Naticott, Amoskeag, and Laconia, the gain of fitness, elegance, and convenience would have been great.

The excellence of Vermont, as a name, is the more surprising from the fact that it is not indigenous, but is, so far as we know, simply a French fancy as the beholder gazed with pleasure on her hills and mountains. It has the capital merit of being both unique and fit, and helps to inspire the loving loyalty of her sons and daughters. There is much in a name.

That there is such a name, or such a state calling for any name, is one of those historic developments on which we may dwell for a little: it is one of the surprises of our American history. New Hampshire missed, narrowly, from holding Lake Champlain for her western boundary. The claims of New York were too remote and tenuous to have stood against any intelligent and resolute purpose of New Hampshire to hold the western half of what might have been her broad domain. The grant to the Duke of York was very doubtful in terms; it represented an ignorance of geography as dense as that which

assumed the westward course of the Merrimack, and it had been so long in abeyance that no real rights could have been sacrificed and no injustice done, if the claim had never been asserted or heard of again.

Equitably, the Green Mountain territory was open to the possession of any company of men and women ready to make their homes in the wilderness, and transform it to the purposes of civilization; and no state had such prior rights of domain, that they could fairly be set up in the face of, and in resistance to, such settlement. And when the Bennington men went to Governor Wentworth for their charter, there can be little question that they recognized the largest proprieties of the situation, that his right to give what they sought was better than that of any other authority, and that the jurisdiction of New Hampshire would be most natural and helpful to them. And when, after the interruption occasioned by the French and Indian War, the currents of settlement were again in motion from Connecticut and Massachusetts, the case was essentially unchanged. The natural impulse of the settlers was to look to New Hampshire for government and protection. New Hampshire had only to respond in order to become mistress of the situation, and find her citizens west of the Connecticut as loyal as on the east.

But government meant protection, and protection involved expense. The authorities of New Hampshire hesitated; the Grants were remote, and a wilderness lay between them and Exeter, or even Concord. The population was scant, its wealth more scant, and when the call came for forts and forces to man them, at Brattleboro and farther west, we can see the reasons for their negative. They were not ambitious; they did not want more territory, perhaps, and thought they had more than their children could need, and they left the Grants to care for themselves. Massachusetts was not wholly deaf to their plea, for the reason, it may be, that there were more Massachusetts people among the settlers, and gave help at Fort Dummer. But, substantially, the Grants wrought out their own problems of defence and development, and were a law unto themselves, with results of which their children may well be proud.

It was at this early point that New Hampshire missed her great opportunity. A broader vision and a brave, enterprising faith on the part of her leaders could have secured, and probably with much less expense or danger than they feared, the extension of New Hampshire from the ocean to Champlain. For the result, I have no regrets, as probably you have none. Each state has developed the high qualities worthy of separate statehood; each has followed the lines of her own development with a success which might have gained little, and might have lost somewhat from a union of currents; and, on the stage of our national life, each has had two senators instead of one, and we cannot go far in recalling the names of Vermont and New Hampshire senators without a very strong conviction of their value to the country, and how much the country would have lost if half of them had been denied these opportunities or public service. But one who ever ventures to dream of the "might have been," will hardly miss his chance to picture the commonwealth which New Hampshire could have become, and the place she could have had on the roll of the United States, in breadth and wealth of population and power, if her history had unfolded in this ample fashion and she had become an earlier and New England Montana.

I have spoken of your great opportunity, not forgetting that the emphasis rests on the adjective. As we shall see, others followed; but they had become less simple. The pretensions of New York had thriven, in the opportunity given by New Hampshire's neglect. New conditions had arisen, and new interests; the people of the grants had ceased to be united for New Hampshire, as a firm hand might easily have held them; national policy had become an element in the case, and, whether she desired to do so, or not, New Hampshire could not recover the ground she had lost. Two stars were emblazoned, instead of one, on our national escutcheon.

Our historical students are learning more and more how interesting a subject is found in the play of forces and varying phases of the drama enacted in the Connecticut valley, and in the semi-independent position of Vermont, while the Revolutionary struggle was in progress. Much has been written, and some

things very well written, upon the subject. But the situation is not complex or obscure to the student, who accepts and remembers a few controlling facts.

From the day when Thomas Hooker and his company found themselves cramped in Newtown and impelled to seek more land at Hartford, this craving has been the characteristic of genuine Americans. But a more inviting opportunity has seldom opened before them than that which the peace, following the French war, presented to the men of Massachusetts and Connecticut, in the beautiful Connecticut valley and Green Mountain region. They had long felt the attraction, and when the danger was removed they were ready for a forward movement, as rapid as their circumstances would admit. In spite of greater distance, Connecticut was foremost. Securing their charters from Governor Wentworth, and probably at the outset, with no thought that New Hampshire could fail to defend and include them, their homes began to multiply on both sides of the river in Chester and Charlestown, Windsor and Cornish, Hartford and Lebanon. Of the river as a dividing line, they had no thought. They were neighbors and friends, and repelled the idea of separation. At the outset, there is no reason to suppose that they thought of a new state. That idea was the growth of later conditions. If New Hampshire had welcomed them and extended her civil mantle over them, inviting their loyalty, she would have found no more faithful citizens.

Very early in the movement a new force came into it with important influence. The pastor of one of the churches, from which this colonizing stream was flowing, had for several years sustained an Indian school. It needed a better location and ampler opportunity, and this sagacious man saw that he could join his neighbors in their new settlement, to their common advantage. It was no accident which led Wheelock to Hanover. He came naturally, with those whom he knew, and founded Dartmouth college, "*vox clamantis in deserto*." But if he had dreamed that a location on the east side of the river would have involved ultimately his separation from neighbors on the west side, there is small probability that he

would not have chosen the west, and Norwich, or Fairlee, or Windsor might have been the home of Dartmouth.

It is easy in the light of these facts to appreciate the position of the Connecticut Valley settlers, when it dawned upon them that they were not to be included in New Hampshire. If not all, then not any, was their feeling. They had come to the wilderness together. The country they regarded as alike open to their common occupancy. It was not clear to them, it can scarcely be clear to us, why, if New Hampshire extended beyond the Mason line, it should stop short of Champlain. The river was an afterthought and an expediency to New Hampshire, the propriety of which they were not called upon to recognize, with its ruthless sundering of ties and plans so dear to them. But if it cost the average citizens along the river a pang to contemplate separation, their relations to Dartmouth college contributed a still more vital element to the case. To this company of colonists on both sides the river the college was dear, and alike dear. It belonged to them in faith, and prayer, and interest, and they cherished it. A state line to sever many of them from it, they had no intention of accepting, if they could help it, and they did not believe that any righteous principle demanded such a sacrifice of them.

It has been charged as a matter of reproach that the Dresden men were the centre and inspiration of the hostility to New Hampshire and that the river would have been easily accepted as a boundary, if Wheelock and his friends had not stirred opposition. Very likely that is the fact, and I do not know that discredit to any one is involved in that fact. The college men were naturally leaders in a movement in which all had a rightful interest. They were able men and good writers. The tract which they issued from the Dresden press in 1777, "A Public Defense of the Rights of the Grants on Both Sides the Connecticut River to Form a Single State," would have done credit to any political writer of the time. This was the prime point of their contention, and the propriety of it has never been disproved, except by the strong hand. Hence, when New Hampshire declined to cross the river, they said that she had no right to come to the river and divide them,

that the heights within which the Masonian line was drawn were her legitimate bound. The valley towns east of the river sent their representatives to the legislature of the new state, and the Vermont legislature once met in Cornish.

It is no part of my purpose, neither my time nor your patience would permit me, to try to thread the mazes of policy, through which the final results were reached. A compact of union with the eastern towns was twice made and dissolved, and naturally there were troubles and excitements attending process. In my judgment they all have explanation in the facts I have here recalled, and it is an explanation which does credit to the heads and hearts of the Green Mountain Boys. Their desire to include the eastern towns was not ambitious, or in any way unworthy. They were simply faithful to brethren and friends, and they did not seem to themselves to be straining any point of duty towards New Hampshire in what they did.

The relations of New York to the territory and the contest were very different. The claim which, after almost a hundred years from the grant to the Duke of York, was put forward was unnatural, and is open to the suspicion that the greed of speculators inspired it. Be that as it may, it came near success, and one cannot help some wonder that it did not succeed. It had a strong and ambitious state behind it, and so much in its favor that many of the New Hampshire grantees, when they found that they could not rely on her to defend their title, turned not unnaturally to New York for security.

When the Green Mountain Boys launched the craft of their New Connecticut, a candid looker-on might have been forgiven for doubts if she could ever outride the storm and find a safe harbor. But there were sturdy seamen on board and sagacious leaders—men as dauntless and wise as ever had to do with the making of a state. Chittenden stands worthily first, whose patience was equal to his tact and skill, lacking possibly the popular and hero-making elements of the Allens, or the military qualities of Seth Warner, but superior to either in moulding the affairs of state, and through clouds and tempests guiding the ship to her desired haven.

He has been charged with disloyalty in connection with the "Haldemand" negotiations, and it may be doubted if the time has yet come, if the facts are all in, for the telling of that story fully. But my study of it seems to me to make it clear that that correspondence (read between the lines) reveals a perception of the perils to which Vermont was exposed, and the means of defence, which was masterly. In a good sense, and with full justification, as I believe, he temporized. It was the best way, perhaps the only way, to save his beloved state from destruction. In the same circumstances Washington would have done as he did, and had the plaudits of history for his courageous wisdom. Doubtless he misled his enemies. Has any great commander ever hesitated to do it if he could? But that he did it by means inconsistent with truth and justice has never been proved and never can be.

One result which New Hampshire secured, in holding the Connecticut as her boundary, is, the possession of Dartmouth college. For her it was a most fortunate result, and may well have been one of her motives. No institution of the state has contributed so much to her high character and fame. The association of these two names is intimate and world-wide, and you may well be proud of it. Among the older states, only Rhode Island has shown similar wisdom in planting no rival, but making one such institution the depositary of all her higher educational force. To Vermont the loss was partial only, for the doors of Dartmouth have always invited and received her students, sometimes in almost equal numbers with New Hampshire's sons. By the test of the graduate number of her sons, it would not be strange if Dartmouth could claim to be as truly a Vermont college as either of those which she has herself planted; but if Vermont had retained her early college, it might have saved her the misfortune of two smaller and rival institutions.

New Hampshire can afford to deal generously by her one college—in fact, she cannot afford not to do it, for no possible investment of her wealth and influence is so sure of permanent and large returns. You recognize the fact that the Dartmouth of the past has brought uplift, comfort, wealth, and power to

the state, which are measureless. Is the Dartmouth of the next hundred years to bear similar fruit and in similar proportions? If it is to do so, it can only be as New Hampshire shall put her best life into the college, keep her in the forefront of the best thought and life of the times, see that her resources are adequate to her needs, and that she is worthy to train your sons (and, shall I add, your daughters? Why not?) of the coming years.

The best product of any state is in her sons and daughters. Whether they stay by the hearth-stone, or reach out for wider opportunities, the men and women whom the state gives to the world prove the character of the state. That is the true test of her institutions and her life, not the multitude of her material products. New Hampshire may welcome the application of such a test. Her children are in all the land and all the world. She has given the country a president, more than one cabinet officer, judges, with one illustrious chief-justice, senators and representatives in great numbers, including the prince of all our senators, merchant princes in all our marts of commerce, educators who have filled high places usefully and honorably, men who have adorned the learned professions, ministers of the gospel who have carried the tidings of heaven's love to men to all the land and to all the world;—to call the roll of even a few such men would be invidious as needless. The suggestion only will call to your minds a "great cloud of witnesses" testifying the fact I would emphasize. But these are not all. I doubt if all these are so priceless a contribution to the life of the country as the plain men and women, many in the humbler walks of life, who have gone forth to help build other states, and especially our newer states. What would our great West be to-day but for the leaven which they have contributed to its moulding, if the ignorance and the greed of the multitudes from other lands had been left to work out their natural results without the guiding influence of neighbors trained in American ideas, civil and religious? Of such, New Hampshire and Vermont have contributed more than their proportion. It is a grand proof of their quality, that they have been able to send out such representatives; and it is a narrow

view which laments their departure, or deems them lost to their parent states. "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth." The "greater Britain" is a favorite theme; the greater Vermont and New Hampshire finds no bound this side of the Pacific.

And what of the future? It is an unworthy fear which has no welcome for the strangers who are flocking in such numbers to share your heritage. They bring to you, who are "to the manner born," new opportunities and new hopes. It is yours to make the spirit of your heritage so attractive and persuasive that their children shall be as loyal to it as your children. They must be made to feel the majestic beneficence of the state so thoroughly, to see so clearly that its freedom is liberty under law and not license, that they cannot help bowing down, as you and your fathers have bowed down, before it, and defend her with hearts as loyal and loving as your own.

There came a time, thirty years ago, when the quality of your manhood and your womanhood was tried. Our flag was assailed, and the life of the nation in critical peril. The response among these New Hampshire hills was hearty. It proved heroism not a lost virtue; it proved New Hampshire manhood as sterling as it had ever been. Will the future prove, in any similar crisis, that you are doing your work in moulding and training the coming generations as faithfully as your fathers? Any such future crisis will hardly come in the same form as in 1862. History does not repeat itself. We hope the time approaches, if it has not already come, when for us, at least,

"The war-drum beats no longer, and the battle-flags are furled
In the parliament of men."

But conflicts of arms are far from the highest tests of character. Conflicts of ideas and opinions, of principles and policy, may reveal more truly of what stuff men are made. And there lie moral contests before us, which will demand as real courage as any which faced rebel cannon at Gettysburg.

The New Hampshire of the twentieth century will differ widely from that of the nineteenth, as that differs from the eighteenth. Your problem is to take all these elements com-

ing to you and shape them to the high purposes of liberty, law, and righteousness. When the process is ended, you will not yourselves be just what you are to-day.

The strangers within your gate have somewhat to give as well as to receive, and you have something to learn as well as to teach. A higher manhood in which their best and yours shall be blended is the goal of your true endeavor, in the attainment of which you and they will have common cause to rejoice; and if this old New Hampshire, yours of the past and theirs as well as yours of to-day, proves, by its laws and institutions, its industries and varied forces, moral and spiritual, equal to this higher development, your children's children will rise up and call you blessed.

Gentlemen of the New Hampshire Historical Society, I congratulate you on the good work you have done in the making of the state, and on the greater work before you and those who come after you—the New Hampshire of yesterday enfolded in germ the New Hampshire of to-morrow. It is yours to cultivate and promote that higher consciousness, in the power of which you and your neighbors may work intelligently to the loftiest ends which the past has seen, perhaps, but dimly; to trace effects back to their causes and by the honor which you shall do and secure for good workers in the past, assures faithful men to-day that they in turn shall be remembered. No true man can be uninfluenced by this incentive. It is not the motive of his work, but his best may be made better by the animating assurance that the plaudits of coming time shall not be wanting.

Your society had its germ in the mind and the heart of a man who wrought in this spirit, and deserves to be honored as long as New Hampshire has honor to give her most faithful sons. May the spirit of John Farmer abide among you till your work is done.

On motion of Hon. Joseph B. Walker,

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be tendered the Rev. Henry A. Hazen, D. D., for his able and entertaining address; and that a copy of the same be requested for publication in the proceedings of the Society.

On motion adjourned, subject to the call of the President.

JOHN C. ORDWAY, *Recording Secretary*.

ADJOURNED ANNUAL MEETING.

PLYMOUTH, N. H., Thursday, October 13, 1892.

The first adjourned seventieth annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society, together with the annual field day, was held at Plymouth, Thursday, October 13, 1892.

The members and their friends, to the number of about twenty-five, convened at Plymouth about 9 o'clock a. m., and soon after that hour, under the direction of the special field day committee, consisting of

Col. J. E. PECKER,
Hon. A. S. BATCHELLOR,
Hon. CYRUS SARGEANT,

carriages were taken for a drive about the town and its immediate surroundings.

The party first visited the historic Livermore Falls, and afterward the fibre-wood factory near by, where they were courteously shown the process of making wood pulp from spruce and poplar logs. The party next visited the fish-hatchery, where they found much of interest. Brook trout and salmon were the principal varieties under cultivation, though other kinds are raised in limited numbers; among which were some very beautiful rainbow trout from California. The spawn is placed on sieves in shallow tanks and a constant current of water from several springs is kept flowing over it; from two to three months is required for the hatching. When the young fish are three months old they are ready for distribution among the streams and ponds of the state.

A visit was made to the ancient Episcopal church at Holderness, in Trinity cemetery, where repose the remains of the once noted Livermores, and to the Holderness Episcopal school for boys, and the fine new chapel connected therewith.

Dinner was served at the Pemigewasset House at noon, after which a visit was made to the old court-house in which Daniel Webster made his first plea. This building, purchased a few years ago by Hon. Henry W. Blair, has been restored as nearly as possible to its original condition, and presented to

the Young Ladies' Library Association, which has fitted it up in an attractive manner.

The business meeting was held in the State Normal School building. In the absence of the President, the Hon. John J. Bell, and the Vice-Presidents and the Secretary, John C. Ordway, Esq., the Hon. John Kimball was chosen president, and Isaac K. Gage, Esq., Secretary, *pro tem*.

New members were chosen as follows :

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Eli E. Graves, M. D., Boscawen ; Howard M. Cook, Concord ; Franklin Senter Frisbie, Boston, Mass. ; W. Howard Tucker, Lebanon ; Charles Frederick Bacon Philbrook, Boston, Mass.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Franklin George Adams, Secretary of Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas ; Cecil Hampden Cutts Howard, Brooklyn, N. Y.

A committee, consisting of

Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER,
Hon. A. S. BATCHELLOR,
Rev. C. L. TAPPAN,

was appointed to confer with Col. George C. Gilmore of Manchester, in regard to publishing the Revolutionary records of the New Hampshire soldiers in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

After the business meeting, interesting addresses were made by Hon. Alvin Burleigh, of Plymouth ; Prof. C. C. Rounds, of the State Normal school ; John C. French, Esq., of Manchester ; Hon. John C. Linehan, of Penacook ; Hon. A. S. Batchellor, of Littleton ; Hon. J. W. Patterson, of Hanover ; Hon. J. B. Walker and Hon. Woodbridge Odlin, of Concord. The occasion proved a very enjoyable one to all participating.

About 5 o'clock p. m., adjourned subject to the call of the President.

ISAAC K. GAGE,
Secretary, pro tem.

A true copy :

JOHN C. ORDWAY, *Secretary.*

SEVENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, Wednesday, June 14, 1893.

The seventy-first annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held this day at the Society's rooms at 11 o'clock a. m.

Vice-President Hon. Amos Hadley called the meeting to order, in the absence of the President.

Isaac K. Gage, Esq., was elected Secretary *pro tem.* in the absence of the Secretary.

The records of the last annual meeting and adjourned and field day meetings were read, at the request of the absent Secretary, by Rev. C. L. Tappan, the Librarian, and approved.

The following committee was appointed by the chair to nominate a list of officers for the ensuing year :

HON. JOHN KIMBALL,
J. C. A. WINGATE, Esq.,
EDSON C. EASTMAN.

The following were appointed a committee on new members :

REV. C. L. TAPPAN,
ISAAC K. GAGE, Esq.,
COL. J. E. PECKER.

William P. Fiske, Esq., Treasurer, made report that the following gentlemen, elected to membership, have qualified, during the past year, by paying the admittance fee :

Howard M. Cook, Concord ; Trueworthy Ladd Fowler, East Pembroke ; Eli E. Graves, M. D., Boscawen ; John B. Hazelton, Esq., Suncook ; Thomas D. Luce, Esq., Nashua ; Hon. Cyrus Sargeant, Plymouth ; W. Howard Tucker, Lebanon ; Charles Frederick Bacon Philbrook, Boston, Mass. ; Franklin Senter Frisbie, Boston, Mass. ; Rev. Lucius Waterman, Littleton.

Hon. Sylvester Dana, Corresponding Secretary, made a verbal report, which was accepted.

The annual report of the Treasurer, William P. Fiske, Esq., was read, and by vote accepted, and ordered to be placed on file.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

To the New Hampshire Historical Society:

The Treasurer respectfully submits the following report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending June 13, 1893:

RECEIPTS.

Balance from last year	\$11,715.84
By cash received from assessments	344.00
By cash received from initiation fees	45.00
Interest on investments	545.29
Life membership, Isaac B. Dodge, Amherst, N. H.	50.00
Sale of Atchison scrip	500.00
Legacy of Mrs. Abigail B. Walker, Concord, N. H.	1,000.00
Premium on bond	50.00
State appropriation	500.00
Sale of books	23.00
	<hr/> \$14,773.13

EXPENDITURES.

Salary of Librarian	\$500.00
Printing and stationery	34.50
Insurance	77.32
Repairs	230.64
Coal	22.20
Postage and envelopes	6.00
Sundry expenses	15.15
Bond purchased	500.00
Accrued interest and commission	20.78
Sundry expenses of Librarian	55.52
	<hr/> \$1,462.11
Balance	\$13,311.02
Permanent funds	\$11,000.00
Current funds	2,311.02
	<hr/> \$13,311.02

Respectfully submitted,

WM. P. FISKE, *Treasurer.*

I have this day examined the account of Wm. P. Fiske, Treasurer of the New Hampshire Historical Society, and find the same correctly cast, and sustained by proper vouchers.

ISAAC K. GAGE, *Auditor*.

Concord, N. H., June 13, 1893.

On motion of Col. J. E. Pecker,

Voted, That the Treasurer furnish the Librarian with a full list of the officers and legal members of the Society; and that the Librarian publish 300 copies of the same, without titles, within ten days after this meeting.

The annual report of the Librarian, Rev. C. L. Tappan, was read, and, on motion, accepted and placed on file.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

To the Annual Meeting of the N. H. Historical Society:

The Librarian respectfully presents his annual report, for the year ending June 14, 1893.

The shelf room in the library has been largely increased, as was much needed, by the erection of five alcoves, in accordance with a vote of the society at the last annual meeting, under the direction of the standing committee. These alcoves are for the reception of the literature of the several religious denominations in New Hampshire. A good beginning of contributions for this purpose has been made in valuable donations from F. D. Ayer, D. D., Rev. A. T. Hillman, Howard M. Cook, Esq., J. C. A. Hill, Esq., Rev. N. F. Carter, and others.

The library has received the same newspapers from their publishers, and publications from historical societies, as last year, except the *Magazine of American History*, which has failed to come.

The *Manufacturer and Builder* has been sent to the library the past year by Charles E. Robinson, Esq., of its publishers in New York.

The list of state reports has been made nearly complete, through the kindness of Hon. Ezra S. Stearns, Secretary of State, and others, by the reception of 110 reports. But very few state reports are now lacking.

Hon. Samuel C. Eastman donated 78 numbers of the *North American Review*—some of them duplicates. The library

has 240 numbers, and lacks 193 numbers; has 92 numbers of duplicates, and 11 double duplicates.

The following town histories have been purchased :

Swansey	\$3.00
Richmond	3.00
Rochester	7.00
Windham supplement	1.50

Books purchased,—

<i>Granite Monthly</i>	1 50
Dinsmore Genealogy	1.00
Norris Genealogy	3.50
Windham Celebration75
Scotch Irish	1.50
Newport Directory35
White Mountains	1.12
Political Manual, 186820
Books bound, 2 vols.	2.00
	—————\$26.42
Books sold	\$23.00

Received by will of Mrs. Chandler E. Potter,

Portrait of Benjamin Pierce;

Portrait of Col. B. K. Pierce, U. S. A.;

Portrait of Franklin Pierce, president of the United States;

"My painting of Liberty;"

And cradle used for Franklin Pierce in his infancy.

New Hampshire Gazette, 2 vols.—1772 to 1784. Portsmouth.

Whole number of bound volumes reported last year, 11,543.

" " " this year, 11,803.

" " received " 260.

Pamphlets received during the year, 886.

Respectfully submitted :

CHARLES L. TAPPAN,
Librarian.

On motion of Hon. Samuel C. Eastman,

Voted, That the Librarian include in his annual report a list of all books and pamphlets donated to the society during the year, together with the names of the donors.

Hon. Joseph B. Walker, for the Standing Committee, made a verbal report, which was accepted and adopted.

Hon. Joseph B. Walker, necrologist, made a verbal report, which was accepted.

Hon. A. S. Wait, for the special committee on procuring a naval history of New Hampshire, made the following written report:

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

To the New Hampshire Historical Society:

Your committee, appointed "To see what measures can be taken to secure the preparation and publication of the Naval History of New Hampshire, under the provisions of the regimental history legislation of the State," having attended to the duties of their appointment, submit the following report:

By the joint resolution of the Legislature of October 21, 1887, *Chap.* 145 of the Laws of New Hampshire of that year, "the Secretary of State is authorized to purchase copies of the history of each regiment of New Hampshire Volunteers, which served in the War of the Rebellion," at a maximum price named per volume, and provided for such a distribution as would call for the purchase of not less than 256 copies of each history so published. But the purchase was by the resolution restricted to histories prepared by authority of the proper regimental associations, and found by the governor and council, among other things, to be, as far as practicable, faithfully, impartially, and accurately prepared, historically correct, to contain matters not otherwise conveniently accessible, and of sufficient reliability and importance to justify such patronage of the state.

This resolution confined the public patronage to histories of regimental bodies of the land forces in the war for the maintenance of the Union. The next Legislature, that of 1889, however, with wider and more matured views, and moved, doubtless, by the spirit of the resolution of July 10, 1863 (*Chap.* 2,762 of the laws of that year), which declares, "That the brave men who have gone from our midst into the naval service of the United States, which during the past two years has covered itself with imperishable glory, are worthy to, and shall, receive the gratitude of the people of this country so long as this country shall hold a place among the nations of the earth; and that the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in said service shall receive the sympathy and guardianship of the people of this State," by a joint resolution found in *Chap.* 128 of the Laws of 1889, extended the one of 1887, and made it include and be applicable to like works relating to the naval contingent from this state. The same restrictions, however, in

the patronage thus to be extended, were retained, and are equally applicable to any naval history which may claim the benefit of this legislation. In order to meet these requirements, therefore, and entitle any such history hereafter published to the patronage provided, it seems indispensable that an association of the men of our state engaged in the naval service of the Union should be organized, and that the proposed history should be prepared under its authority, and with its sanction.

It appears to your committee, therefore, that the first among the measures to be adopted with a view to the object proposed, should be the procuring of an organization of the men of the state now or heretofore engaged in the naval service, into an association, one object of which should be to authorize the preparation of such a history as that contemplated.

The work of preparation must necessarily proceed under the supervision of the association ; but, the initiatory suggestion originating with this Society, it is presumable that any appropriate action, or advice, in aid of it, from a committee by the Society, selected for the purpose, would be willingly received.

The regimental histories contemplated by the legislation referred to, are by the subjects embraced, necessarily confined to a period commencing not earlier than the commencement of the late War of the Rebellion. The naval services of New Hampshire and her citizens commenced as early as the expedition to Louisburg, in 1745, and have been conspicuous in every exigency since, until the great deeds of valor and skill which saved the Union, and immortalized the sons of our beloved state.

Citizens of New Hampshire can but recall with pride and satisfaction the alacrity with which the state responded in the outset of the great struggle for independence to the call for naval assistance from the Continental congress, and on the 3d of July, 1776, while New Hampshire's delegates at Philadelphia were by their signatures pledging their constituency to the Declaration of Independence, their Legislature at home were enacting the statute of that date, entitled "An Act for encouraging the fixing out of armed Vessels to defend the Sea Coast of America, and to cruise on the Enemies of the United Colonies, as also for erecting a Court to try and condemn all Ships, and other Vessels, their Tackle, Apparel and Furniture, and all Goods, Wares and Merchandizes, belonging to any Inhabitants of Great Britain, taken on the High Seas." This was followed on the 26th of November, 1778, by "An Act for establishing a naval office at Portsmouth ;" and this again on July 4, 1781, by another in furtherance of the same general object.

It is obvious, therefore, that no naval history of New Hamp-

shire can be complete, or justly satisfy the requirements of such a history, without embracing in its purview the whole period from the first marine efforts of our people in the public service. It is the opinion of your committee, therefore, that whatever encouragement shall be afforded by the Society to the preparation of such a history should aim to give to its plan that general scope.

In view of the whole subject, your committee recommend the adoption of the following resolution :

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed, whose duty it shall be to encourage and promote the formation of an association of the men of New Hampshire at present and formerly connected with the naval service of the United States, the object of which association to be, among others, the preparation and publication of an authentic history of the efforts, from the earliest times to the present, of the state and its citizens, in the naval department of the public service ; said committee to act in concert with such association when formed, for the promotion and accomplishment of the object herein specified, and also to obtain for the history, when published, similar state patronage to that accorded to regimental histories under the legislation of the state.

A. S. WAIT,
J. C. A. WINGATE,
P. B. COGSWELL,
Committee.

The report was accepted, and ordered to be published in the Proceedings ; and the resolution adopted.

On motion of Hon. Joseph B. Walker,

Voted, That the committee of three, called for by the resolution accompanying the report, consist of,—

Hon. ALBERT S. WAIT, of Newport ;

Hon. J. C. A. WINGATE, of Stratham ;

Hon. PARSONS B. COGSWELL, of Concord.

Hon. John Kimball, for the committee to nominate a board of officers for the ensuing year, reported the following persons, who were unanimously elected by ballot :

President.

Hon. AMOS HADLEY.

Vice-Presidents.

Hon. BENJAMIN A. KIMBALL,
Hon. GEORGE L. BALCOM.

Recording Secretary.

JOHN C. ORDWAY, Esq.

Corresponding Secretary.

Hon. SYLVESTER DANA.

Treasurer.

WILLIAM P. FISKE, Esq.

Librarian.

Rev. CHARLES L. TAPPAN.

Necrologist.

Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER.

Library Committee.

Hon. A. S. BATCHELLOR,
Rev. N. F. CARTER,
Col. J. E. PECKER.

Standing Committee.

Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER,
JOSEPH C. A. HILL, Esq.,
Gen. HOWARD L. PORTER.

Publishing Committee.

Rev. CHARLES L. TAPPAN,
Hon. JOHN L. FARWELL,
Hon. ALBERT S. WAIT.

Committee on New Members.

Rev. CHARLES L. TAPPAN,
ISAAC N. GAGE, Esq.,
Col. J. E. PECKER.

Auditor.

ISAAC K. GAGE.

Rev. Charles L. Tappan, for the Committee on New Members, reported the following :

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Prof. C. C. Rounds, Plymouth ; James M. Lamberton, Esq., Concord ; Rev. Charles S. Hale, Claremont ; Maj. A. H. Bixby, Frankestown ; Hon. Frank N. Parsons, Franklin ; Hon. Harry Bingham, Littleton ; Daniel Clark Remich, Esq., Littleton.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

George T. Burton, Esq., Boston, Mass. ; John N. McClintock, Esq., Boston, Mass. ; Rev. Bradley Gilman, Springfield, Mass. ; James Dinsmoor, Esq., Sterling, Illinois.

The report was accepted, and all of the above were elected members by ballot.

On motion of Col. J. E. Pecker,

Voted, That the Society hold a Field Day at Hillsborough, at a date to be fixed by a special committee.

The following were appointed the Committee on Field Day :

Hon. JOHN B. SMITH, Hillsborough ;

Col. J. E. PECKER, Concord ;

ISAAC K. GAGE, Esq., Penacook.

On motion of Hon. Joseph B. Walker,

Voted, That the paper prepared by Hon. Chester B. Jordan on Col. Joseph B. Whipple be accepted by the Society, read at 2 o'clock p. m., and be placed among the transactions of the Society.

On motion of Hon. Joseph B. Walker,

Voted, That the annual assessment be \$3 for the ensuing year.

On motion, adjourned to 2 o'clock p. m.

The Society reassembled at 2 o'clock p. m., according to adjournment, the President, Hon. Amos Hadley, in the chair.

By request of the Society, Hon. A. S. Batchellor read large extracts from the paper prepared by Hon. C. B. Jordan on "Col. Joseph B. Whipple."

PAPER OF HON. CHESTER B. JORDAN.

It is not an unwilling task to gather up bits of history of a pioneer in any worthy cause; more especially is this true when that history is of one who left family, friends, social life, civilization and a good business behind, and penetrated the trackless forest, founded a town in a wilderness, and set in motion numberless wheels of varied industries, and got on foot enterprises that long ago wrought out of excellent material a New England community with all that phrase comprehended one hundred and twenty-five years ago.

And although by reason of death of colleagues and compeers, of the great lapse of time, and of the want of records of those early days with their stirring events, the undertaking may seem and be difficult; yet the light which gleams in upon the page from the surroundings and settings of a pioneer life is almost always sufficient, when correctly and faithfully brought to bear, to illuminate history, illustrate character, and intensify our interest in those who laid well and strong, in these fertile valleys among our grandest mountains, the foundation of our civil polity and of our freedom in matters secular and religious. It were useless to wish that he who planted Dartmouth under the shadow of New Hampshire's Presidential range could now be summoned from his eternal quiet and rest to look down upon the Jefferson that now is. Still, could it so be, what a change would his eyes behold! Instead of the wilderness, desolation, isolation, privation, and want, ever attendant upon early struggles to make homes, farms, and society, he would find broad meadows, productive uplands, beautiful villas, comfortable homes, commodious school-houses, large churches, and hotels among the best in the land, while not far from his old home might be seen all through the summer months steam cars tugging up Mt. Washington, filled with human beings

from every part of the globe, who never tire of the novelty, the beauty, the sublimity, and the grandeur at what their hearts feel and their eyes behold. The small clearing by the river has expanded over a whole town, and the land this pioneer bought for a mere song at tax sales and otherwise is now of great value, the hotels and summer-houses alone aggregating at least a million dollars.

When I look over the field of human endeavor and progress for the last fifty years, and see what marvellous changes have been wrought in art and science and the thousand things that move the world and make men better, more comfortable, active, and intelligent, I sometimes wish my hold on life were by a stronger cord, that fifty years hence I might know and realize at what pace the world had kept along, what wonderful things man's brain had in that time wrought out of earth, sea, and air. But such wish were as idle as that Col. Joseph Whipple, of whom we are now to speak, might return and survey the results of the work he here so inauspiciously began.

This man was no ordinary one even for the heroic times in which he lived and acted his part. His associates were also men of extraordinary endowments and wonderful achievements. Among his friends were the two Sullivans, James and John, the one president of Massachusetts, and the other of New Hampshire; the two Langdons, John and Woodbury, the one dying in 1792, the other in 1805; Edward St. Loe Livermore, who was then, perhaps, at the head of Rockingham bar; Jeremiah Mason and Jeremiah Smith, both younger than Colonel Whipple, yet both close friends; Josiah Bartlett, Governor Plummer, the Atkinsons, the Gilmans, the Halls, Hales, Weares, Penhallows, Sheafes, Wentworths, Fletchers, Woodbury, Bell, and Webster, too, who, before Mr. Whipple had concluded his work here below, had begun to exhibit those gigantic powers that so emblazoned his name upon the nation's pride and glory. Other men, whose names we must not stop to enumerate, great in the walks of civil life here and abroad, were his friends and often guests under his hospitable roof. The young and great Hamilton he knew well, served his

country under him, made, executed, and enforced contracts for him while he was secretary of the treasury, and so far had the confidence of America's first, and perhaps greatest, financier, as to be allowed to sign and use his name. He had acquaintance with the few men of note in the "North country" about as intimately as with those with whom he was born and reared, for he was an active, restless man, tireless in his energies and limitless and ceaseless in his ambition. This spirit and his life-work brought him in contact with the best and most influential in the land. At one time or another, of his long and eventful life, he had to do with many of the brightest and best, not alone of his state, but of other states of the republic, and of other powers. His acquaintance with and knowledge of the military heroes at the periods of the French and the Revolutionary wars, and the War of 1812, were no less remarkable than his acquaintance with men in civil affairs.

Foremost of all the generals he knew and prized was General Washington, who last visited Portsmouth in 1789. That year Colonel Whipple was made, by him, collector of the port of Portsmouth, held the office under him throughout his entire administration, and under all administrations down to the time of his death. He knew Stark, Green, Putnam, Thornton, Scammel, Poor, Cilley, our own Bedels, three generations of whom cover every important war of the country, from the French and Indian wars to that of the Rebellion, besides many others no less efficient or patriotic. But very likely, by this time, you desire me to be more definite concerning this man,—to relate something of his ancestry, and of his own early life, for he was born long ago, and lived and died long ago, as we, in this comparatively new country, reckon time.

As we now, at this distance, try to go over the ground trod by him, to follow in the varied and various paths he marked out, to gather up the threads of the tangled skein of the life he lived, and become somewhat conversant with the times, the methods, customs, modes of living, manner and facility of doing things in those primitive days, we confess that what must have been very, very real to the actors then, seems like a dream to us now.

“Over the roofs of the pioneers
Gathers the moss of a hundred years ;
On man and his works has passed the change
Which needs must be in a century's range,
The land lies open and warm in the sun,
Anvils clamor and mill-wheels run,—
Flocks on the hill-sides, herds on the plain,
The wilderness gladdened with fruit and grain.”

In a country like ours it is almost idle and somewhat irksome, to dwell upon ancestry, however noble. Here, we expect every man to carve out his own fortune, to make of himself whatever he becomes. If the material of which men are made is in him it will be recognized, and its development and expansion encouraged, regardless of regal lineage, noble blood, or ancestral fame and renown. Yet the origin of Colonel Whipple is not altogether uninteresting, nor the field of investigation therein wholly uninviting to a student of our country's history. If he had no reason, as no one has, to boast of the record of his fathers, he certainly had none to blush at the fulness and fruition of their lives, for around them clustered much that was of importance to their day and generation, and of interest to us in ours.

The name, no doubt, was formerly Hipple, but in time of Henry VII, was changed into Whipple.

Col. Joseph Whipple was born in Kittery, now Maine, February 14, 1737. He was the son of Capt. William Whipple, Sr., of that town, grandson of Maj. Matthew Whipple, of Ipswich, Mass., great-grandson of Capt. John Whipple, and great-great-grandson of Elder John Whipple, also of Ipswich. It is said, on what is deemed good authority, that the Whipple family of this country descended from Matthew Whipple, of Bocking, Essex county, England, a clothier. He had two sons, Matthew and John, and several daughters. The sons, undoubtedly, settled in Ipswich, in that part called The Hamlet, since Hamilton. They were born about 1600. Matthew died September 8, 1647, and John, June 30, 1669. Elder John Whipple, great-great-grandfather of Col. Joseph Whipple, was deacon and ruling elder of the first church of his place, and he

has come down to us as a man "whose godly sincerity is much approved." He had a large grant of land in 1639; was a freeman in 1640, and that year and 1642, 1646, 1650, and 1653, was a deputy to the general court. Both he and his brother Matthew held many offices of trust and responsibility.

Among the children of Elder John, was Capt. John Whipple, born about 1626, who died August 10, 1683. His prospects for honor and usefulness were promising at the time of his death. His estate was valued at £3,000. He was lieutenant in Captain Page's troop at Mount Hope, June 1675, in King Phillip's War, and captain of a troop raised for service under Major Savage, in March, 1676. He, too, had a son Joseph. Among his children was Maj. Matthew Whipple, born 1658, who died, January 28, 1739. He also had a son Joseph, also a son William, by his first wife, Joanna Appleton—daughter of Samuel Appleton, 2d. Maj. Matthew Whipple was a man of prominence, representative in 1718, 1719, and 1729, and a justice of the sessions court. His said son William,—afterwards captain—was born February 28, 1695. He followed the sea for a while, and May 14, 1722, married Mary, the eldest daughter of Robert Cutt, 2d. She was born December 26, 1698, and died February 24, 1783, and on her stone in the Old North cemetery in Portsmouth, among other things, is this record: "Her religion was without ostentation, and her charity unlimited." This couple were the parents of Col. Joseph Whipple. Colonel Whipple's maternal ancestors, we find to have made history,—and mothers not infrequently stamp their lineage, for several generations, upon their sons as indelibly as do the fathers. Among the settlers in the vicinity of Portsmouth, previous to 1646, were John, Robert, and Richard Cutt. They became large land-owners. John had settled at Portsmouth (or the Bank, as it was then called), and acquired much wealth from mercantile pursuits. Richard, at first, carried on fisheries at the Shoals, and afterwards removed to Portsmouth. Robert, after a short stay at Barbadoes, located on Great Island (Newcastle). He, not long afterward, went to Kittery, and engaged in ship-building. In 1679, when New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts, the king

appointed John Cutt as president. John Cutt's first wife, a wealthy English lady, did not long survive her marriage. He then married Mary Hoel, and they had six children, among them Richard and Robert.

Colonel Whipple's papers showed that Robert Cutt, 1st, was a native of Bath, England, and that his father at the time of his death, was a member from Essex for Cromwell's second parliament in 1654.

Robert Cutt, 2d, born in 1666, married, April 18, 1698, Dorcas Hammond, daughter of Major Hammond, whose father, having been an adherent of Cromwell, left England on the death of the Protector, September 3, 1658, came to this country, and settled at Kittery. They had four daughters, the eldest of whom was Mary, who, as before stated, married Capt. William Whipple. Robert Cutt, 2d, died September 24, 1735, and his wife Dorcas, November 17, 1757, aged 83. In his will, dated only a year before his death, Robert Cutt, 2d, bequeaths "to my well beloved daughter Mary Whipple, besides what I have heretofore given her, my land or farm in Kittery, situate and being at the place called and known by the name of Crooked Lane, together with the dwelling house and all other buildings upon the said land of whatever denomination."

The will of his wife Dorcas, made May 26, 1749, bequeaths "to my beloved daughter Mary Whipple, her heirs and assigns, all my household goods and furniture, money, notes and bonds, and all my moveable or personal estate of what nature or kind or quality soever." Thus we see that the mother of Colonel Whipple became the owner of the old homestead, with all its furnishings and belongings. And so, without here going further into the history of the Cutts family, we will give a little description of this place, as the birth-place of distinguished men and women, and of our particular friends, whether great or small, is of more or less consequence to us. The mind is curious to know as many of the circumstances and surroundings of a life of mark as is possible, and inquiries by what aids and agencies such life became prominent—what causes led, or conspired to lead it, to greatness and goodness. The old house and barns, the ravines, hills, and mountains, in and around which they played in child-

hood, the church they attended, the school-houses where were first learned their lessons, the coves and brooks in which they angled, and the old wells where they slaked their thirst, each and all have a history, and in some way or another, we think, enter into the lives and characters of the good and true. We wonder what was done for them, what happened that they should have outstripped their associates, for we are loath to think that others were better born, or made more of their opportunities than we. And so we often vainly seek in some or all of these extraneous matters for causes of their success and reasons for their forging ahead of the common run of their fellows, refusing to recognize the fact, however often it shall be proved to us, that the race is not to the swift alone, but to the one who makes the most of himself and the chances given him.

The old Whipple mansion was built on the east bank of the Piscataqua about a mile from its mouth, in Kittery, opposite the navy yard. It was only a few rods from the water, and stood on a site very well chosen for its purpose, having a cove (now called Whipple's cove), running half-way round it, so that no treacherous savage could approach that way unperceived. It also commanded a view up and down the harbor for a long distance. The size of the house as it now stands is 54x34 feet, two stories high, though when used as a garrison, for which it was originally designed, it was probably about 34 feet square. The remainder, or addition, is of a later date, and constructed in a more modern or common way. The garrison part of the house was made of hemlock timbers hewed squared, dove-tailed together at the corners. When the owner, in 1859, put the building in repair, these timbers were found to be perfectly sound, and likely to last for centuries. The house was built with the upper story projecting beyond the lower at least eight or ten inches on any side;—on some sides the projection was double this. These projections were intended to give the women in the house an opportunity to pour down boiling water to scald the warlike Indian, and to put out the fires he almost invariably kindled in making his attack, as well as to afford loop-holes through which the men could shoot their enemies. Many of the garrison-houses were much larger than this. In times of serious outbreaks, nearly or quite

all the neighbors sought refuge in the garrison. The doors were large and heavy, often made in two parts, of heavy timbers, and hung on large, wooden hinges. This old house seems to have been the capitol of a little hamlet at Whipple's cove, and was probably built by residents there about 1660. It was the house of Robert Cutt, 2d, who died in it in 1735, and, as we have seen, of Capt. William Whipple, Sr., who also died in it, August 7, 1751.

In this garrison-house, so full of historic worth, was born Joseph Whipple. He was not the only child of distinction in that family of five children born of distinguished parents. The first in rank was William Whipple, born January 14, 1730, whose early life was closely interwoven with that of his younger brother Joseph. It is no part of my duty to here give a sketch of his useful life, and if it were, I should hesitate before entering on the task. Others have done it with more minuteness of detail than I could do. This society knows the steps which he successively and successfully mounted, one by one, to his great fame and name. His boyhood days, his sailor-life while yet a mere youth, his early command of vessels, his European, West Indian, and African trade, his mercantile life with his brother Joseph at Portsmouth, from about 1759 to the Revolution, his numerous elections as delegate to congress, his signing of the Declaration of Independence, his services as a general and otherwise to maintain that immortal declaration, his brief term as judge on the bench, with his many other achievements have made a history of which New Hampshire men are justly proud. He died November 28, 1785, and his good wife, Madame Catherine Whipple, in 1823. Mary Whipple, his sister, married Robert Trail, a merchant, and lived until October 3, 1791, when she died, aged 63 years. She was the great-grandmother of James Russell Lowell. Another sister, Hannah, was born February 15, 1734, and on April 14, 1760, she married Dr. Joshua Brackett. We shall have occasion to refer to her again. Robert Cutt Whipple, another brother, had not a long time to stay here below. He was early gathered to his fathers. He was born April 6, 1736, and died May 4, 1761. This brief outline, and it could not well be more brief and do justice to the subject under

consideration, brings us to Joseph Whipple, the last child of Capt. William and Mary Whipple. Concerning his boyhood and youth we have but little to say, for we know but little of them. What boys and girls did is not known in our country one hundred and fifty years after they have ceased to be boys and girls. In some countries, where regal power holds sway, what children do may be noted, recorded, remembered, and handed down from age to age. But here there were no records, and no one saw in the Whipple boys' pranks and conduct anything very unlike what other boys under similar circumstances might do and perform. Besides, in those stormy days men were busy in making history rather than in recording it. A country's destiny was at stake, and the great heart of that country was centred upon doing, achieving, trusting to the future for appreciation, record, and reward. Therefore it is that facts and tradition throw but faint light upon the early life of Colonel Whipple. We suppose, however, and will so take the fact to be, that he had the ways and customs, and was afforded the advantages of other boys of his day, rank, and circumstances. He had the benefit of such schools as his native town and the town of Portsmouth supported. Portsmouth was even then noted for its culture, its wealth of good society and good manners, and for its riches and hospitality in things material and tangible. It was the only seaport town in the Province; within her limits, for many years, often gathered educated and refined men and women from all civilized lands, but more especially was this true of the French gentry. To this good town came the youthful Louis Phillippe in the past century, on business and for pleasure. In October, 1837, Lewis Cass sailed for France as United States minister. This citizen king was then on the throne, and although forty years had elapsed since his visit, he inquired for the people of Portsmouth, remembering their names and their hospitality.

A boy of Mr. Whipple's temperament, observation, and capacity could not fail to be impressed by what he saw of such society, and to gain much that would tend to shape and fashion his character and conduct. For then, as now, it was not always the case that what was got from books was any more useful than the daily example of, the daily contact with,

those deemed our superiors in age, wisdom, and the many virtues that go to make up a well rounded and refined progressive life.

Mr. Whipple's school days, such as they were, being over, he entered the store of Nathaniel Carter of Newburyport, where he served with efficiency until he and his brother William established themselves in mercantile pursuits on Spring hill, in Portsmouth. The old store stood till consumed by fire in December, 1802, and the lot remained undivided until Colonel Whipple's death. We are told they there were eminently successful. They dissolved partnership and went out of the business on the approach of the Revolutionary War.

In the mean time, viz., October 9, 1763, Joseph married Hannah Billings, a Boston lady of refinement, and lived in the house standing at the north-east corner of State and Chestnut streets in Portsmouth. Mrs. Whipple died January 30, 1811. She left an excellent name, the sweet savor of which is still borne to us on winds from many quarters. In 1782, Marquis de Chastillux, a major-general in the French army, serving under Count de Rochambeau, with whom he came to this country in 1780, among other places visited Portsmouth, and in company with Governor Langdon called on Colonel Wentworth and on Mrs. Whipple. In writing home of his travels, he said that while Mrs. Whipple was neither young nor handsome, she appeared to him "to have a good understanding and gaiety," that her house and Mr. Wentworth's, as well as all he visited in Portsmouth, were handsome and well furnished. It was while the marquis was in Portsmouth that Lafayette paid him a visit.

The old church where Mr. Whipple and so many others worshipped deserves some notice, for, no doubt, it had its influence upon the man as a moral and intellectual force. It was the old North church, built in 1712, and like most of the churches of those days in large towns, was an immense structure, for about all the people then had to attend church services somewhere.

The vane of the church was added in 1732, gilded in 1796,

and fell in 1854, with the rest of the church. Colonel Whipple was long a member of this church and society. The last meeting was held in it in the year of its demolition. The first or best pew in the church was occupied by Gen. William Whipple. During Washington's four days stay in Portsmouth in 1789, he went to church with Governor Langdon and sat in his pew. President Monroe afterwards sat in the same pew. Col. Joseph Whipple's pew was next to the spacious one occupied by Governor Langdon. In this church also worshipped Jacob Cutter, James Rundlett, Daniel Webster, Hunking Penhallow, Isaac Waldron, Joseph Clark, Jacob Sheafe, William Hill, Daniel R. Rogers, Joseph and Samuel Akerman, John Goddard, William Rice, Peyton R. Freeman, John Pierce, Richard Hart, John Langdon, Jr., Benjamin and John Penhallow, Edward and Richard Cutt, Samuel Brewster, and so on, and so on.

Having amassed something of a fortune in trade, Colonel Whipple's active mind, intrepid spirit, and his love of adventure, prompted him to bid substantial adieu to the elite of Portsmouth, and all it had been to and for him, and to penetrate the almost boundless forests of the northern part of the state. As to how the then growing fame of this section had reached his ears, both history and tradition are silent. Perhaps some one of the few who had then visited the famous White hills, with all their magnificent scenery, their entrancing beauty, their wildness and grandness, had told him something of the glory of mountain and valley, of forest and stream, of pond and lake, of river and brooklet, and of the wealth of fish and game, of bird and beast, in those remote regions. Possibly the truthful stories of the savages, of their conflicts with the pioneers, more romantic than the wildest fiction, may have had some influence in bringing to these borders him about whose history hovers so much that is both real and romantic; or, possibly, he was possessed of the notion of founding a summer home among the mountains, like the one established by Governor Wentworth at Wolfeborough, and to extend the "Kings highway" thereto.

The French and Indian wars were over, and it was becoming comparatively safe for settlers from Massachusetts, Con-

necticut, Rhode Island, and the lower part of New Hampshire, to work their way northward and avail themselves of the fertile land in that section, hitherto uninhabitable by any, save those who claimed title to all the hunting ground. At any rate from about 1760 to 1800, the tide of emigration set strong in that direction, and the history of the northern towns shows that nearly all of them were settled during this period.

In 1773, Colonel Whipple came to Dartmouth. He was the first white man who had dared to try and make a home in that locality. Ten years before a brave band from one of the best states now in the Union, had settled in the adjoining town of Lancaster. Their little number was being constantly added to by those of culture, will, and energy. This settlement was about ten miles from the place where Colonel Whipple made his "pitch." His location was on some of the best lands in Dartmouth. It was on the Siwooganock river, a little back from its bank. With the men he took up from his old home he was not long in clearing away space for cabin and camps, which at length gave place to a two-story house, a real mansion for himself, and ample barns for the cattle and horses he had been enabled to get over some of the high rocks in the mountain path and pass only by ropes and pulleys. Land was fast cleared of the trees; corn and other crops blessed the hard labors of the men. Cooks and female help were brought up the hunters' path from his other home by the sea, and comfort even then began to be realized in his new home. The house was used as a hotel for those who for years chanced to be sojourning in that far away land, then as a dwelling-house, next as a barn, and now again it is the home of human beings. It was built for time. It did not take long to get a good-sized clearing. Then the colonel parcelled out the land, fifty acres in a lot, to his laborers, giving them a long time in which to pay for it, with such produce as they could raise among the stumps, roots, and stones of their newly cleared fields. He kept an accurate account with them all, even to the half-cent, a bag of which coin he usually took annually from Portsmouth to his new home.

Many of the men he brought up from his old home became

prominent residents of this north country. Samuel Plaisted, father of the late B. H. Plaisted, and grandfather of Philip C., now of the Plaisted House, was for years his trusted agent. James Hight, to whom and his good wife he left the use of his "Mount Plenty" farm during their lives for their faithful services, has many descendants in Jefferson. David Hicks, who died only a few years since, almost a hundred years old, the father of the wife of Hon. Nathan R. Perkins, and of James Austin Hicks, Esq., was one of his useful men, as was his father, Benjamin Hicks.

The first female taken through the Notch was by Colonel Whipple in 1776, as his servant girl. Afterwards she married, became a widow, learned from the Indians—then far more plenty in that region than the whites—the use of various roots and herbs, turned doctress, and was long famous in that region for medical skill. After nearly a century of toil and usefulness, this good old lady died, leaving a large number of descendants and a memory of "Granny Stalbird" that is sweetly cherished to the present day. In the mountain gorge is a large rock hurled down in some conflict of the Titans, who in stormy times are said to inhabit these mountain fastnesses, that is called to-day "Granny Stalbird's rock." At this place, in her journey to the lower settlements on one of her errands of mercy, she was overtaken by one of those terrible mountain storms. Darkness shut down upon her. The clouds seemed a vast sheet of water, which swelled to fearful height the mountain streams, rendering her way impassable. She sought shelter from the fury of the elements under this projecting rock, and through the long, cold, sleepless night listened to the doleful music of wind, water, and wolves. Her will and her God sustained her, and for years after that, clad like a man and riding like one, astride her faithful horse, did she bless her race by her kind ministrations.

Another white girl of much beauty, also brought from Portsmouth to the Whipple home in those early years as a hired servant, was Nancy Barton. In 1778, on a branch of the Saco, below where the Willey house, with its history of sorrow and tragedy of 1826, now stands, Nancy perished. She had trusted

all her hard-earned wages for the past two years to one of the colonel's hired men who had gained her affections, and he had forfeited his honor and betrayed her confidence. He agreed to go to Portsmouth—her home—to be married, but must first visit Lancaster to make the necessary arrangements for their intended journey through the wilderness. False to her in every particular, he stole away without her. There was no road,—only a hunter's path marked by spotted trees through a thirty-mile wilderness. Nancy knew the course he had gone, and madly, devotedly, determined to follow. When she got back from Lancaster to the colonel's she was drenched and chilled by the snow and sleet which covered ground and bushes. In vain friends tried to dissuade her from pursuing him farther. She felt that he must camp somewhere in the Notch for the night, and by desperate haste he could be overtaken. All night long she wandered on, and at daylight reached the spot where the ashes of his camp-fire were yet warm. With benumbed fingers, chilled limbs, and exhausted strength, she undertook the fruitless task of rekindling the dying embers. The next day mourning friends in search of her found the poor girl at this place, freed from grief and troubles, stiff in death. The rock here has ever since been known as "Nancy's rock," and the stream as "Nancy's brook."

The growing commerce demanded that these paths be made broader and better for travel and traffic, and the demand was met. It is said that the first "goods" brought up through the Notch from Portland, was a barrel of rum given Captain Rosebrook by a merchant of that place. The captain recorded of his trip, that after crossing the Saco twenty-two times with a horse, two poles, and several men, he succeeded in getting home with so much of the article as was not used in the enterprise. The first produce carried down through the Notch was a barrel of tobacco raised by Titus O. Brown, of Lancaster, who was the father of the late J. B. Brown, of Portland.

Dartmouth was first granted October 3, 1765, to John Goffe, Esq., and fifty-seven others, but the charter, for reasons, was forfeited. June 26, 1772, it was again granted, this time to seventy persons. At the June session of the legislature, 1793,

a hearing was had on a petition to incorporate the town, and the prayer of the petition was denied. But in 1796 Colonel Whipple presented another, and by an act of the legislature approved December 8, 1796, the territory of Dartmouth was incorporated as the town of Jefferson. Undoubtedly the colonel's growing admiration for Jefferson suggested the name for the town. His ardent support of that statesman for the presidency afterwards cost him his office as collector. In March, 1798, was the first meeting. There were then about twenty voters and tax-payers, Colonel Whipple heading the list in importance and wealth.

In 1812 we find that the colonel's inventory in that town consisted of seven horses and colts, six oxen, twenty cows, ten young cattle, besides his real estate. He built a saw-mill and grist-mill near his place and other expensive mills at "Jefferson Mills," now Riverton. The latter stood until about 1820, when they were burned. The colonel had some notion that the lands in that part of the country might some time be valuable. February 17, 1774, he purchased twenty-six of the seventy original rights of the town, paying therefor £400. April 12 of the same year he bought twenty-six more rights for £400, "proclamation money." The following September for £45 he purchased three other rights. February 11, 1775, he bought two more rights for £30. And so he kept getting the shares, until November 9, 1796, we find he had title to the whole town at the price of about \$4,200. He employed general Bucknam, of Lancaster, to do much of his surveying, not only in Jefferson, but in Bretton Woods, Bethlehem, Conway, Colebrook, Columbia, Stratford, and other towns wherein he had become owner of many thousand acres of land.

At his decease he owned about 25,000 acres in Jefferson alone. The colonel was the moving man in regard to schools, roads, and all improvements. He loved the picturesque and the grand. From his home he could see the Pliny range, Mount Washington, Mount Jefferson, and Mount Adams. Inside his mansion were pictures, books, comfort, and even luxury. He served his town faithfully, present or absent.

In 1776, 1777, 1778, 1782, 1783, and 1785, he represented

his legislative district, which at first included all the territory of the present Coös county and parts of Grafton and Carroll. This was long before Coös became a county. The Journals of the House show that he was active and vigilant for his constituents' interests. Many things which he accomplished might with profit be spoken of here if time were not wanting. In 1784 President Weare appointed him colonel of the historic Twenty-Fifth regiment of militia. General Bucknam, of Lancaster, was his lieutenant-colonel.

It seems that all this time, in fact, so long as he lived, he kept up his Portsmouth residence too, for we find that after the organization of the state government, March 4, 1786, he was appointed impost officer at Portsmouth, and served his state in that capacity until the Federal government went into operation in 1789. He was then (August 3), as we have before stated, made collector of the port by General Washington, which office he continued to fill till July 6, 1798, when he was removed by President Adams for political reasons, although the records of two departments at Washington show that he held that office continuously until just before his death in 1816. These records must be wrong. In a letter relating to his removal from office, apologetically written Colonel Whipple by Judge Smith, he says, "To your politeness as a gentleman, integrity, zeal, and intelligence as an officer I could most cheerfully bear witness, but these are not called in question." The colonel was a strong anti-Federalist and took an active part in the campaign, and so lost his office. Civil service then was about the same as now, for Judge Smith wrote, "It is a solecism in politics that the government should be administered by its enemies." President Jefferson restored Colonel Whipple, April 5, 1801, to his position, and he held it ever afterwards until about the time of his death. The colonel's brother-in-law, Robert Trail, had been appointed comptroller of the port of Piscataqua, August 27, 1765, in the fifth year of the reign of George III, and took the oath of office, allegiance, etc., January 14, 1766. The port then included the other ports of Kittery, Newbury, and York. Previous to the building of the custom house, the colonel transacted the business in his own

office adjoining his residence on State street. Years previous to that, the collector's office was in Merchant's row, and still back of that, up to 1798, it was in an antiquated building farther north on Market street.

An impartial review of his work will convince any one taking the trouble to investigate, that Colonel Whipple in this long term of service was diligent in the government's interests, and painstaking and scrupulously honest in his dealings with men who had to do with duties and the like. Then the collector had to look after the light-houses, make contracts for and in the name of the secretary of the treasury, and to do a thousand things which the government has many men to do to-day. In "N. H. State Papers," Vol. XVIII, *p.* 810, I find a memorial as to his fees which gives an insight into his multifarious duties, and it also shows his scholarship and ability to argue questions. Similar evidence to the same traits can be found in his letter upon the same subject on *pp.* 811-813. He says,—“The duties of my office required that I should review the manifests of the cargoes of all vessels arriving in the port; receive or secure the duties on all goods imported by water or by land; that I should appoint deputies in every part of the state where goods are imported; that I should examine and search for suspected concealments of goods; that I should seize all goods illegally imported, and prevent every kind of fraud attempted on the revenue. This was a task more arduous than was annexed to my office in the state. In the execution of it I had to contend with the adverse humor of every anti-revenue, anti-patriotic, and selfish person in the state who imported goods,” etc. His contracts for building light-houses, and for the various other things he had done, were as well and closely drawn as if dictated by a thoroughly trained lawyer. He drafted deeds, agreements, and such papers as were necessary, in either of his homes. He was made a justice of the peace and of the quorum for Grafton county in 1779 and again in 1784, twenty years before Coös was formed, and when every second man in the state was not a justice of the peace.

Among his duties I find, by referring to Governor Plum-

mer's biography of John Samuel Sherburne, in Plummer Papers, Vol. V, *p.* 491, that one year he had to pay all the pensioners of New Hampshire. It seems that Sherburne, while serving as aid to the colonel's brother, Gen. William Whipple, in the Revolutionary War, was accidentally wounded so as to necessitate the amputation of one leg, for which the legislature granted him a pension of \$300 per annum. In 1789 Congress assumed the payment of all such state pensions, and the secretary of war directed Colonel Whipple, then collector of Portsmouth, to pay the pensioners of New Hampshire in accordance with a list of the pensioners and of the amount granted them, which the secretary furnished him. He also ordered that each produce his original certificate before receiving his pay. In the list so furnished the clerk had by mistake inserted \$400 instead of \$300 opposite Sherburne's name. The colonel saw the list stated \$400, and the certificate not being produced that sum was paid. Through whose fault this was done we do not know. It may be that the colonel felt justified by the list in paying an aide of his brother \$400 for the loss of a leg, but Governor Plummer thinks Sherburne was the man in fault. The next year the state loan officer, Samuel Gardner, disbursed the fund, and Mr. Sherburne got only \$200, having to make up for the overdraft of the previous year.

By accident, almost, I found he knew something of surveying and the higher mathematics. Dr. Belknap, in his history, gives an account of a visit he made to Colonel Whipple and the White mountains, in July, 1784. The doctor, with a party of seven, left Dover July 17. They passed through Eaton and Conway, and came to the mountain region, probably to Colonel Whipple's, July 23. On the 24th, they, with Colonel Whipple, started to make the ascent of Mt. Washington, with a view to make particular observation on the phenomena that might occur. They had a sextant, a telescope, an instrument for ascertaining the bearings of distant objects, a barometer, a thermometer, and several other instruments for various purposes. They had not gone far before thick clouds covered the mountain and rendered useless most of their instruments, and prevented all the party, except Colonel Whipple,

Dr. Cutler, and Rev. Mr. Little, from completing the journey. When Dr. Cutler arrived at the summit and took the thermometer from his bosom, where for safety he had carried it, the mercury stood at fever heat. It soon fell, however, to 44°, and by the time he had adjusted both thermometer and barometer his fingers had become so benumbed with the cold that he could do but little more, and Colonel Whipple had to do what was done. On the highest rock Mr. Little began to engrave the letters, "N. H.," but his hands got so chilled he had to give over the instrument to Colonel Whipple who finished the task. Under a stone they left a lead plate on which were engraved their names. They made the descent with difficulty, their guide falling at one time over a precipice completely out of sight. At last they were down and at Colonel Whipple's home, where warmth and comfort awaited them.

July 27, Dr. Belknap preached in the Colonel's barn, the first sermon ever heard in what was then called "Whipple's Plantation." There were five or six families, and all were out. We are told that about thirty persons were present. The doctor's text was from 1 Cor., vi: 19, 20. Rev. Daniel Little, of the party, from Kennebunk, Me., then baptized eight children. Dr. (Rev. Manassah) Cutler, of Ipswich, Mass., concluded these first public religious services with prayer. Dr. Belknap then left this region for home, arriving there July 31. In this trip he learned much of use in his valuable history. No one has read his description of the White Mountain region without wondering how he got so much accurate knowledge of this wonderful scenery at so early a date. He took home from Colonel Whipple's copies of the colonel's plans of this mountainous region, and also of "Kyasarge," about the spelling of which name so much has been said and written. The spelling here is as Colonel Whipple gave it.

These early years did not always bring sure harvests to the husbandmen in all the towns of the north country. Drought and frost and tempest were then, as now, the foe of the tiller of the soil; and when such calamities then came in this sparsely settled region, without roads or other means of communication with the seaboard towns, they were severely felt. Among the

rank and file in the country towns life was little more than a hand to mouth existence. It was all they could do to take care for the present, let alone the next year.

The men wore home-carded, home-spun, and home-made garments, and so did the women. Tow, linen, flannels, colored at home from the dyes of roots and herbs, sheep's gray, and frocking constituted the staple clothing. Some of the men wore skins from the bear, the wolf, and moccasins from the shanks of the moose, while now and then a woman would manage to tan and make a set of beaver, otter, mink, or sable that would be the envy of the best of the land to-day. All these varieties of animals, and many more, were very plenty about Colonel Whipple's home in Dartmouth. From the stream near his house, trout weighing five pounds or more, could be taken any day in the summer; so that these pioneers did not often want for meat or fish. But salt, to cure both and make them tasteful, was scarce indeed. One man loaned his horse to go to Portsmouth to bring up two bushels of salt, taking one of them for his pay. When grain was cut off then there was trouble enough. If they had that, then they could get along, even though they prepared much of it for the table by boiling rather than to grind it by hand in the large stone mortars. Often, to make a little go a great ways, it was made into broths, soups, porridges, and the like. Beech and other leaves when young and tender were picked, dried, and used for tea. Beans and peas were burned and pounded, and used for coffee.

It cost something to found a town. To bring into life anything worth having causes suffering, pain, and more or less travail. Not then was, nor now is, the land immediately below the White mountains so fertile and productive as above. The soil was of a different formation by nature, poorer, and thinner. And so when, in one of these earlier years of Colonel's Whipple's stay in Dartmouth, there came one of these times of great scarcity of grain, it afforded an illustration of the colonel's foresight as well as of his provident care for those around him. He had come to regard this little community as part of his family. He felt somewhat responsible for their leaving the com-

forts of life near the seaboard and taking their chances in the wilds of Dartmouth on his mere say so; and they, in turn, looked up to him as their Moses, their leader, and often spoke of him as their father, so kind was he to them. He bought from them whatever they had to sell. Out of his store he sold them what things they must have. On his return to them from his visits to Portsmouth they gathered around him, celebrating his advent among them, and receiving letters, tokens of remembrance, and news from the dear ones they left and he had so recently seen.

Is it any wonder that they loved and respected him and that he was solicitous for their welfare? A "neighbor" meant something then, in sickness or in health, in adversity or prosperity. Those people, as in all pioneer settlements, called on each other without first sending up their card. Their calls were not limited to ten minutes if longer time were necessary. They shared each other's table, waiting not for formal invitations. If in trouble, they were neighbors even though miles lay between them. They said what they meant, and meant what they said. The days of sham and show and false pretence are not those of pioneer life. And, therefore, these people implicitly trusted Colonel Whipple, and he, as faithfully, guarded their interests.

At one of these scarce periods Colonel Whipple refused to sell grain to any except his neighbors. He had his granaries well filled for their supply. A party of men from Bartlett, knowing this, driven to extremity for lack of food for their families, at last set out for Colonel Whipple's with their hand-sleds and snow-shoes. It was in the depth of winter, and such a journey through the mountains was attended with danger. Hunger with them and those at home impelled them forward. What was their disappointment on their arrival to be refused grain. He feared he had not enough for his own neighbors. Pleading did not avail. He would care for them while with him, but not a bushel of corn would he sell. Apparently much disappointed they set out for home. When out of sight they stopped and waited for darkness of night, under cover of which they came back to the colonel's barn, which they had ex-

amined by daylight, and getting under its floor, bored a hole up through it and let down corn enough to fill their sacks. The colonel afterwards learned of it, but having enough left for himself and those of his plantation he never mentioned it.

We ought to say something of Colonel Whipple's record during the great struggle for American independence. Even at this late day I have heard hints as to his loyalty. On every spot of every page of every history I have searched where his name in this connection is mentioned, I find abundant, overwhelming evidence of his intense patriotism, of his devotion to his country's cause and all her interests. If smaller men sometimes distrusted him, it was because of his superior foresight enabling him to look over their heads, beyond the ken of their vision; and because he could see things they could not, they doubted if they could exist. Men high in civil, political, and military authority trusted in him implicitly. The committee of safety relied on him to keep his whole section in line, to ward off Indians, keep back Canadian invaders, and arouse and maintain a healthy warlike spirit at home. August 13, 1781, the president of that committee received a letter from General Stark, requesting that his lands near Conway be not sold while he was in the public service, a copy of which letter he at once sent Colonel Whipple, that he might look after them. The board of war was often ordered to deliver to him ammunition to be distributed at the points most in need. To him and Colonel Page, of Lancaster, at one time were delivered twenty muskets, 200 flints, 100 pounds of powder, 200 pounds of lead, and they were requested to procure provisions and deliver them to the men to be raised for the defence of the western frontier. In 1782 I find an order drawn on him to deliver Jeremiah Eames, of Northumberland, twelve pounds of powder, four pounds balls, and twenty-four flints. The next year the president of the committee was in correspondence with him as to a Continental tax. The legislature not infrequently voted him powder and other means of war from the Portsmouth magazines.

In 1776 John Hurd wrote President Weare he had a letter from Colonel Whipple desiring two swivel guns for Captain

Eames's party in Upper Coös. The next year he was on the committee to apply to the Continental agent for fire-arms; also to inquire into the state of the treasury. In the legislature he was on nearly every important military committee, was appointed a commissioner in 1776 to take into consideration the difficulties and grievances subsisting and complained of by sundry towns in the county of Grafton, respecting the then present form of government. In 1781 he made a long report containing valuable suggestions as to raising men for the army. About this time he followed on after men who had deserted families and crops in their fear of the Indians, and induced them to return. July 28, that year, the committee of safety received information that men from the enemy had taken Colonel Whipple, that he had escaped, that they had carried off his goods, and the committee, therefore, directed that troops be sent to that part of the country as soon as possible. This information was correct, for the colonel was captured in his own home. The place was not unknown to the red men. The house was built near their trail, used for many years in their passage to and from Canada, and from the Saco to the Connecticut river, through the Notch. At this time the Indians acted under the direction of the English. Their object was to ascertain the designs and plans of the Americans in this region in respect to their loyalty to the mother country. The colonel had been on good terms with these Indians, and so, suspecting no ill-will, he admitted them to his house, as he had often done before, and, ere he was aware of it, he was made a prisoner in his own home. With his usual presence of mind he made no objection to going with them, as requested, but said they must wait a short time for him to change his clothing and get ready. In the hurry of the preparation he managed to tell Mrs. Hight, his housekeeper, to take up the attention of his captors with the curiosities of the house, and with eating and drinking. While they were so occupied, he went into his bedroom to change his clothes, as he had told them, and then through the window into the field across the meadow, where he had men at work. He ordered each man to seize a stake from the fence, and shoulder it as if it were a

gun, and took the lead himself towards his house. The Indians, already searching for him and seeing him in the distance at the head of a company of armed men, as they supposed, hastily seized what stores they could and fled. A Mr. Gotham—long in Mr. Whipple's employ, an Englishman, who has many descendants in Coös and Essex now—saw the Indians as they were making their escape, and sought the forest, crossing the river on a log. The Indians saw him, and fired at him, but missed. The key they turned on Colonel Whipple in his own house is now in possession of a resident of Coös. This same year, after consulting with Colonel Page and Colonel Whipple, thirty men were raised to serve three months under Colonel Whipple's direction, and he and Colonel Page were to care for and supply them. They were not needed so long, the colonel thought, and so were discharged. In July of the next year, in compliance with Colonel Whipple's request, the committee sent six or eight men to Dartmouth as a scouting party. He furnished beef and other provisions for the army in large quantities, sometimes to the amount of several thousand dollars worth.

In 1776, 497 citizens of Portsmouth, Colonel Whipple among them, signed a petition, called the "test list," asking "all assemblies, councils, or committees of safety of the United Colonies, immediately to cause all persons to be disarmed within their respective colonies, who are *notoriously disaffected* to the cause of America," etc.

But perhaps I have gone far enough with a matter that might be carried still farther on the same line. I trust that by this time you are as thoroughly convinced of the colonel's loyalty and efficiency in his country's cause and service as I am. If his modesty, training, and taste led him into fields of usefulness in his country's service, differing from those traversed by his more conspicuous brother, the general, it is not for us to say that the unobtrusive course was not as much needed and as helpful as the other. Colonel Whipple was much in advance of the average man of his day. His strong common sense penetrated to that within the future which was often veiled to the sight of others, and this mental grasp and practical bent of his

mind well equipped him for leadership. As early as 1797 we find him trying to secure an act of incorporation to enable an aqueduct company to be formed to bring water two and a half miles into Portsmouth. He was diligent in every good work for the town.

The real estate records show he was constantly buying and selling land in Portsmouth, not alone to secure profit to himself, but public buildings, good streets, and a beautiful town as well. He was interested in having a good and commodious hotel, and as early as 1765 the land was secured of Theodore Atkinson by John Stover for the "Earl of Halifax Hotel," and in 1770 the building, three stories high, was completed. In this celebrated hostelry great men met and planned great things. In the upper room St. John's lodge of Masons met for years, and in it the grand lodge of the state held its meetings. During the Revolution, the proprietor, who was an Englishman, had to leave it, but John Langdon interfered, got him back, changed the name of the hotel to "William Pitt," and under that name it did good business for a quarter of a century. To it came George Washington, Lafayette, John Hancock, Elbridge Gerry, Rutledge, and other signers of the Declaration of Independence. Here General Knox and staff found rest and sumptuous fare, and here came and stopped three sons of the Duke of Orleans, one of whom was Louis Phillippe, the future king of France, as before mentioned. In 1789, Gen. John Sullivan, the president of New Hampshire, met his council, and deliberated and resolved under this roof.

From the portrait of Colonel Whipple, now in possession of Alexander H. Ladd, of Portsmouth, we conclude he was fairly good-looking, with his character strongly marked in the cast of his countenance. It is believed by those qualified to judge, that the portrait in Independence hall, Philadelphia, claimed to be that of the general, is really that of his brother Joseph. In manner he was quiet, courteous, but dignified. While kind and humane, he was familiar with but few. He had time only for work—work all through his busy life. The man who was constantly on a visit was no particular friend of his.

If proof were necessary, after all that has been said, that

Colonel Whipple was a moral man, plenty of it might be had, not alone in his dealings with men, but in the unselfish life he lived, in his public acts, and in his constant endeavor in the legislature and elsewhere to have such laws enacted as would prohibit vice and encourage virtue in homes, towns, and country. The record is full in this respect. His heart beat in sympathy for the needy and helpless. It was no morbid sentiment that could only find expression in empty words and meaningless phrases, but one that crystallized into deeds of relief, and laws and rules that undid the heavy burdens, comforted the distressed, and brought succor to the oppressed. Almost invariably was he found on the side of the weak, voting against imprisonment for debt; for enlarging the yards of jails; for giving prisoners better care, and for the bringing in of better days and times to the less favored and fortunate of earth who chanced to be among us.

That Colonel Whipple had particularly enlarged views and advanced thought concerning roads, education, and manufactures is manifest from all we touch relative to what he said and did. Were evidence of this needed, we should have it in abundance from the record he left in his will, dated August 15, 1805. Perhaps a few extracts from this document in the colonel's own language will get you nearer his thoughts, the workings of his mind, than can any words of mine. The instrument is very long, and so I will not give you all of it, only such portions as relate to the matters above mentioned, and to his dear wife. First he gave her during her life his "mansion house situate on the northerly side of Broad street in Portsmouth with all the land thereto appertaining being two lots in the Glebe, so-called, with the out-houses and buildings thereon, with power to devise the same by will to my niece Mary Spence, wife of Mr. Keith Spence, to be possessed by her in case of the decease of her husband, or to such one of her children as she shall see fit to bequeath the same." (Mrs. Spence was the grandmother of James Russell Lowell.) "I give also to my wife all my furniture and other effects and stores belonging to me in my house or that shall be there or in my out-houses at the time of my decease not otherwise appropriated. I give and

bequeath also to my said wife in addition to the above out of my personal estate, or to be raised out of my real estate by sales thereof the sum of one thousand dollars per year to be raised by the collection of my personal estate, or the income thereof, viz.—from debts due to me, from dividends of banks, turnpikes, bridges, aqueducts or other incorporated institutions that may arise to me at the time of my decease whether now established or that may be hereafter acquired by me, excepting what may arise from Jefferson Turnpike in the County of Grafton, or from the sale of such stock, or from the sale of some part of my real estate, so as to make the sum of one thousand dollars per year, as above ; to be raised and paid quarter yearly. . . . I give also to my wife during her life, my farm in Kittery, and at her decease I give the same to Green Keith Spence, son of Keith Spence, But if he should not survive my wife I hereby authorize her to give the same to such other of the children of my said niece, Mary Spence, as she, my said wife, may see fit.” Then, after remembering most bounteously many other relatives and friends of himself and his wife, he writes,—“ Having thus provided for such connections and friends whose age and infirmities will not authorize an expectation that they can acquire due support for themselves, and some others whom my inclination has pointed out as persons who claim the notice, and, being of opinion founded on long and daily observation that property placed in the hands of young persons operates as a check to their industry and application to useful employment, but rather excites dissipation and idleness, I do therefore give, bequeath and devise the residue of my estate not before given or devised in the following manner as contained in this and the succeeding item. I give to my Executors (hereafter named) in trust to be disposed of for the use intended, ten thousand acres of land in the Township of Colebrook, Cockburne, Jefferson, Bretton Woods, and Bethlehem, two thousand acres in each township, to be the lots drawn from all the lots owned by me in said towns respectively, and not otherwise disposed of by me ; the time and manner for selling the same to be such as shall appear the most likely to obtain the best price therefor ; the sales whereof

to be applied to the making of the road called the Jefferson Turnpike Incorporation, or so much thereof as the said ten thousand acres of land shall raise, to be applied to or invested in the shares or interest in the said incorporation.

“ *Item.* I give, bequeath and devise to my said executors in trust five thousand acres of land in the township of Jefferson and five thousand acres of land in the township of Bretton Woods, to be disposed of by them at such time and in such manner as by them shall be adjudged the most likely to be the most productive, and the proceeds thereof to apply towards the establishing of an academy in said township of Jefferson, and I authorize and require my executors to appoint four trustees to carry into effect this and the preceding item, and if my executors should omit making such appointment then I invest that authority in the President and Trustees of Dartmouth College, to make and appoint such suitable persons therefor as they shall judge proper, the directing authority however, to continue in said President and Trustees until the establishment, progression and maturity of such academy, may render it proper to erect and maintain a separate and particular incorporation. The said President and Trustees are respectfully entreated to interest themselves in this matter, and at a suitable time, endeavor to effect it, and in the meantime that they will form such regulations as shall tend to advance the seminary to such a degree of improvement as its accommodating funds with the accessions of further funds by donation from those disposed to promote the institution, shall admit, requesting and enjoining that the greatest attention and stress be paid to those studies that tend to improvement in agriculture and natural history; that such experiments and improvements on these subjects by encouragements and premiums, honorary or pecuniary, shall be made as future funds may admit. And as respects political subjects, that such studies be pursued as tend to a love of peace and an aversion for war, and encouragement and continuance of a republican form of government as established by the Constitution of the United States,—wishing the experiment may be fairly tried for one century, by the termination of which period the practicability, I have no doubt, will be admitted, provided the arts of peace are

cherished and adopted, and war discouraged and shunned, and I further give and bequeath to the said academy all profits and dividends accruing to my shares and interest in the afore mentioned Jefferson Turnpike Incorporation."

Next, he takes up the trust imposed upon him by the will of his sister, Hannah Brackett, as to founding an asylum for the support and early education of children of both sexes, and having disposed of his sister's fund in this behalf, he adds to it five hundred acres of land in Colebrook, estimated at \$2,000, out of his own estate in furtherance of the enterprise.

Then he comes to another matter that evidently lay near his heart, namely, manufactures. He says—"Conceiving that great benefit to our country, would accrue from the gradual establishment of such manufactures as are immediately and essentially necessary to the support and comfort of man, and considering the immense and increasing population of these states whereby the consumption of foreign manufactures are greatly increasing, and the peaceful and uninterrupted state of our commerce at present, the productiveness of our agriculture, and the profits arising on the exportation of the products thereof, and the raw materials used in foreign manufactures, exciting an indifference to manufactures in our own country, thereby keeping off those attempts to manufacturing which it would be good policy to introduce, so that in the event of an interruption in our commercial intercourse with other nations, we should become suddenly destitute of a supply of such manufactures and of knowledge in their fabrication; and, conceiving that among the manufactures, combining eligibility of introducing and necessity in their use, none can be preferred to woollen cloths and window glass; therefore to the encouragement and establishment of these I assign the residue of my estate not hereinbefore given and bequeathed, hoping that in each of the United States similar establishments may be made and improved upon, as an entering wedge to an entire independence, as well commercial as political, of other nations."

It is not well to take your time to go into the colonel's plans to the minutest detail for working out these problems. The property was to be converted into money, and the money offered

as bounties for those who employed the most men and got the best results for three-year periods in each of these great branches of industry. Enough has been given to enable you to understand how broad and comprehensive was the mind of this man who dwelt here so many decades ago, and how grand his designs, how benevolent his purposes, how philanthropic his views and works, and how advanced his thoughts. As I was studying this man's character in the light of his will it occurred to me as it doubtless has a thousand times to you, that although we think we live in an age of great progress and are thinking out thoughts greater and faster than did our fathers, when we come to commune with those of the past we find that they who were doing the work one hundred or five hundred years ago were entertaining about the same thoughts and devising nearly the same plans that mortals do now.

The colonel did live to see his turnpike built past his mansion in Jefferson, being the tenth one chartered in the state, but not to see his seminary erected. He had personally known of the contests with the French and Indians, and of the great struggle for nationality. He knew of the want, suffering, pain, and mourning which that long and desperate conflict had entailed upon almost every home in the land. He had seen it all. And now that the spared and chosen ones had been able not only to catch a glimpse of the promised land, but really to go in and possess it, with all it had been, was then, and promised to be in the future that was meeting them with rapid pace, laden with more and better things than they in their wildest imaginings had dared expect, was it strange that Colonel Whipple wanted no more war, no more strife, blood, and desolation? Is it at all strange that he should want seminaries planted where the arts of peace and concord, rather than those of murder and rapine, should be fostered and taught; that he should desire not only this, but also that this country should begin to protect itself, make what it wanted, and not longer be compelled to pay tribute to other nations, especially to the one that had so recently sought to chastise us and bring us again beneath the parent roof, subject to the harsher discipline ever imposed upon the more wayward children. Colonel Whipple felt the glory of the

dawning of that auspicious day, and appreciated from whence came the bright effulgence that was grandly lighting up our social and political horizon from border to border. He hoped to avert any stormcloud or tempest that might obscure the light that was fast chasing away the darkness and gloom that had gathered about that night of seven years of terrible war. All through that crisis he had given himself no rest from the work at hand. He had ungrudgingly done his part. Now his eyes beheld the salvation of his country, and in his swiftly advancing years he felt the need of rest to his overtaxed body and mind, and that the country, too, needed rest, peace, and recuperation. He was willing, in addition to the much he had done and given, to now bestow nearly all his worldly possessions that the desire of his heart might be fulfilled and the everlasting good of his country be secured. I do not know how this sublime conduct, this noble self-sacrifice, impresses others, but for me it has a beauty, a symmetry, a harmony, that touches the sweeter chords of the heart, and will make melody so long as the human mind contemplates honest endeavor, good deeds, and masterly achievements in the cause of God, country, and humanity.

The sweet prattle of children he could call his own never gladdened his heart. The affection that intertwines and interlaces more than any other love had not been for him. But, though childless, he had so many objects of care and solicitude that his soul had not grown callous, his heart not cold.

Notwithstanding he put his house in order in 1805, he did not cease toiling and working until summoned to the rest and sleep of his fathers, February 26, 1816. After reaching almost four score years, he laid his burden down and entered into the enjoyment of whatever awaits those who have kept the faith and performed their duties here below. The century of self-government he worked and prayed for has passed, and what a century it has been! The little we can do to perpetuate the name of those who have done so much for us and the world for all time is but small recompense, and should be ungrudgingly bestowed.

NOTE. My obligations in preparing the foregoing sketch are so many, I conclude it is not best to mar its pages by con-

stant reference to the many sources of my information. I will here say I am indebted to Capt. Joseph Foster's Presentation of Flags and Presentation of Portraits; to Hon. A. S. Batchellor; Dr. Belknap's, Barstow's, and McClintock's histories of New Hampshire; State and Town Papers; Portsmouth Annals; Brewster's Rambles; Plumer's Papers; Journals of the House; American Scenery; Coös County History; Granite Monthly; Proceedings of the New Hampshire Historical Society; town-clerk of Jefferson; Crawford's, Willey's, and Spaulding's White Mountains, and various other sources, for help.

On motion of Hon. Joseph B. Walker,

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Hon. Chester B. Jordan for his valuable paper concerning Col. Joseph B. Whipple, and that he be requested to furnish a copy of the same for publication in the Proceedings of the Society.

Voted, That Hon. Edgar Aldrich, of Littleton, be invited to furnish a paper on the Indian Stream question.

Voted, That a committee be appointed to select an orator for the next annual meeting.

Hon. J. B. WALKER,
Rev. N. F. CARTER,
Hon. A. S. BATCHELLOR,

were appointed said committee.

Voted, That a special meeting of the Society be holden the coming winter in memory of the late Senator James Willis Patterson, of Hanover, and that Prof. John Ordronaux, LL. D., be invited to deliver the address.

Voted, That the publication committee be authorized to publish another part—part 3 of Volume II—of the Proceedings of this Society.

Voted, That when the Society adjourns, it be to meet again at the call of the President.

Voted, To adjourn.

ISAAC K. GAGE,
Secretary pro tem.

A true copy :

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

Mr. John J. Bell, when Vice-President, suggested that it would be a good custom for the retiring President to deliver the address at the annual meeting. In accordance with that suggestion, he prepared an address for the annual meeting of June, 1893. His illness on the morning of the meeting, which was the warning of the attack which caused his death on August 22, 1893, prevented his attendance at the meeting and the delivery of the address. Mrs. Bell has kindly consented to allow it to be printed in the Proceedings.

THE ADDRESS OF JOHN J. BELL, 1893.

The sum of human knowledge is the sum of human experience. The infant reaches out for the moon as for the toy which hangs but a few inches from its eyes; experience at last enables it to judge more correctly of distances, and so, as its experience extends, it learns of the nature of things which come within the limit of its observation; it learns to know those with whom it is brought in contact, and from its knowledge thus gained by experience it judges of other things and of other persons, not always wisely or correctly; but still, as guided by its experience it grows older and its experience wider, and its occasion for more extended judgment arises, it in like manner applies the lessons of its experience to the new questions which continually present themselves. So of the human race: it learns from the experience of man in all ages, judges from that experience, sometimes wisely, sometimes otherwise. Man has been continually learning of all things about him; by increased experience he has been enabled to correct the earlier crude inferences as to things about him, as to other men and their relations to him. In the broadest sense history is but the record of all these experiences. As experience grew more extended, men learned to classify and differentiate their varied experiences, and history, which originally might have included all that man had learned by his relations with other men and his observation of the forces and objects about him, has been limited to the former, especially to the political and social relations of man with his own kind, although by no hard and fast line.

The study of history has in all ages been the means by which man has been enabled to avail himself of that larger experience, which is that of his clan, his town, his nation, of the whole race, as distinguished from that of the individual. Indeed, history may be said to have ante-dated literature, for before men had learned the use of letters, and among men who had no knowledge of them, the story-teller, the bard who sang of the feats of bravery done by the tribal, national, or racial heroes, found a welcome at every fireside; letters only extended the domain of history, first in song, then in prose. Like the bard and the story-teller, the poet and the prose historian chose their heroes and endowed them with unexampled strength and courage and virtue. Still, however much their heroes may have exceeded in the story the plain truth of deeds, the supposed experiences were the fund of power and knowledge from which innumerable minds gained the knowledge which fitted them for their duty in life. Let it not be supposed, because the tales from which they drew their inspiration were hardly more than fables, that the knowledge they gained was wholly unreliable. It may be that history for long ages was, as the great English cynic declared, "false, while the mere novel might be true," still there was through it all the same truth as that which Walpole found in the novel. It may be that Herodotus and Tacitus and many another have falsely told the tale, to point more strikingly the lesson they would teach. It may be that they were only so childishly credulous that they did not clearly distinguish between the romance and the prose of the tales they learned. Yet even so they did give, if not the strictly accurate account which they professed, one which did bring to men something which if not true to the individual case was, beyond doubt, true in the sense that gave what might well have happened in such form that from it men were made stronger and wiser. As the race grew farther from its infancy, it had less taste for the marvellous, was less satisfied with inaccurate, although pleasing, narration, which is only declaring what we must all of us admit, that as we grow older we are no longer satisfied with the tales that charmed our youth.

No boy has become less a man for having read "Robinson

Crusoe," or even "Pilgrim's Progress." The supposed experiences of Robinson, or of Christian, impossible as those experiences were, and, at first sight, in conflict with the proposition with which I started, that knowledge is the sum of experience, were, in a very real sense, true. So the Waverly novels and Shakespeare have been among the best, as well as most universally received forms of English history, and, from them more has been received and become a part of the current knowledge of English speaking men, of the experiences of the English race, than from all the nominal *histories* of England and the English people. True it no doubt is that as these histories are false, their experiences imagined rather than real, so the knowledge derived from them and the lessons received have all partaken of that false character, and no doubt many erroneous theories and misleading views have thus gained credence. The true historian should be as sure of his facts as of what he would teach by them. Man will never rise to highest and truest knowledge until all error shall have disappeared from the basis of his reasoning, and the experience from which he forms his opinions and determines his own actions shall be itself true. It is well, therefore, that in small matters, as well as great, error should be corrected and the truth alone remain. Have we any duty to perform, or opportunity to correct any errors, as our share of this part of the great task of humanity?

Our society was formed more especially for the preservation of the memory of those events which relate more particularly to our own state, but without excluding that broader field which the larger experience of man, through all ages, might teach. How far have we fulfilled this especial purpose? Have we exhausted all the sources of our own local history? Have we preserved the knowledge of those events of our own time which are the *history* of the times that are to follow? Have we drawn all the lessons that might fairly and profitably be drawn from what we know of the past experiences of man in New Hampshire? I presume no one thinks that we can answer either of these questions in the affirmative. It has seemed to me that we might profitably spend a short time in looking over to see what more we might preserve or learn of

our own history which has not yet been fully told, and, perhaps, in seeking to draw lessons for our lives from the experiences of man in New Hampshire.

The early history of New Hampshire has never been written. Within the last quarter of a century new facts have been coming to light, which may well lead us to doubt much which had been received as history of the English race in New Hampshire. When this society was founded the Massachusetts story of New England was almost, if not quite, universally received. Based as it was almost wholly upon Hubbard, it was accepted that the first settlements were made upon the Piscataqua in the year 1623 by Thompson at Little Harbour, and later in the same season by the Hiltons at Dover Point. We now have strong reason for doubting the accuracy of both these statements. The settlement on the Isles of Shoals must have been prior to 1623, for Leavitt was sworn in, as one of the council of Gorges as governor-general of New England, at the Shoals, then a well recognized settlement, in the spring of that year. And it must have been a place of resort for fishing and trade for a considerable time before. It is highly probable that the settlement at the mouth of the Piscataqua was made at an earlier time than that given by Hubbard, and the confusion about Thompson's connection with it and with other settlements further south, in Mariana and on Thompson's island in Boston harbor, would make an interesting, even though difficult, subject of study. The character of the first settlers upon the Piscataqua, and their views of religion and politics, would form another fruitful field of research. It is probable that they would be found to be very different from those of their later neighbors on the Bay, who finally succeeded in supplanting the earlier settlers in New Hampshire. And the history of efforts of Gorges and Mason to form settlements here and on the other side of the Piscataqua, how they were foiled, in part by the more successful colony of the Bay, and in part by political events in England, has not only never been written, but there is evidence tending to show the destruction of no small part of the documents upon which such a history must be based, by their stronger and finally successful competitors.

It is too early now to write the history of that struggle, but it would, as it seems to me, furnish a field of interesting research, which would at some time yield a great reward to him who should, with a fixed determination to learn the whole truth about it, devote the necessary time and labor to elucidating it.

The student who would learn of the evolution of our system of government, and who should carefully trace its actual growth in our early New Hampshire towns, would find his reward in new ideas of how certain elements of our methods of government took their rise, and would, I feel sure, see reason for doubting some of the theories which have prevailed on that subject. Such a student would soon learn to distinguish between the avowed and the real reason for many things, and see beneath the surface much that would lead him to a far broader, as well as more correct, view than that which relies upon asserted motives and theories as the true explanation of the origin and purpose of our governmental forms.

The long struggle of Massachusetts to extend her jurisdiction over New Hampshire, with its varied claims of boundary, and the controversies which arose from it, not yet settled, but still pending in the negotiation between the two states, and in litigation before our supreme court, would well repay the historical student. It is one of the curious incidents that the title to real estate, as affected by the supposed and intended final settlement of that boundary line by the king in council, in 1740, is now before the supreme court of New Hampshire, with but little prospect of a solution. Prior to that decree, Salisbury, in Massachusetts, extended to the mouth of the Hampton river. It is not necessary to refer to where the line went after leaving the sea, for the title to which I refer relates to the beach hill. The title to this, from the Hampton river to the Merrimack, was in the commoners of Salisbury. When the line was settled as three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack, although that decision was one of jurisdiction only, and should not have affected the title to real estate, as it did not anywhere else, the commoners of Salisbury ceased to make any claim to the beach hill north of that line, squatters cut off the timber,

scanty in quantity and poor in quality, which grew just inside of the beach hill, and between it and the marsh, and which had never been granted by the commoners of Salisbury, and, prior to 1740, belonged to them, and substantially all value disappeared from the beach hill. Various acts which may have amounted to claim of ownership and may not, on the part of various parties are being relied upon or denied. The beach in Massachusetts has become valuable, and the commoners of Salisbury are deriving a considerable revenue from their leases of parts of it; and could a good title be obtained to the beach in New Hampshire, it, too, would have a considerable value. The town of South Hampton claimed it, but lost their suit, not because the defendant owned the land, but because South Hampton could not show that *they* did. The town of Seabrook is now claiming it, and may probably fail for the same reason. A lawyer, himself of reputation at the bar, and the son of a man well known in his time as a public man in New Hampshire, attempted to make a title to it, by squatting upon it, and maintaining his possession against all comers, but the dreadful monotony of life alone on the beach, summer and winter, for long years, upset his reason, and he was removed to the Asylum for the Insane. It has been suggested that there was a *tacit*, perhaps, rather than *written* partition when the line was settled between the commoners of Salisbury residing in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, those residing in either state taking the common lands in their states respectively. No such partition in writing is known to exist. The commoners residing in New Hampshire do not, I believe, claim any rights in the Massachusetts commons, and those in Massachusetts who compose the present quasi corporation, do not claim the beach in New Hampshire, for fear, as it is said, that if they did the descendants of the commoners who resided in New Hampshire should in turn claim to share with them. This leaves an interesting legal problem which, it may be, will continue to plague the courts for some time to come.

It is about time that some historical student should so fairly state this long controversy between the states that plain men can understand its merits, both as a legal controversy and in its moral aspect.

While we may feel that Massachusetts had no title to any part of New Hampshire, and her various pretexts for such claim are too thin to have ever deceived Massachusetts herself, or may assent that her claim had some plausible, though false, foundation, yet we must never lose sight of the fact that there was, at first, a very real danger to those views of political and religious policy upon which their commonwealth was founded—for a commonwealth it truly was through all of its history—in the prospect of a cavalier province at the north of them. Had events in England turned out differently, or had Massachusetts been weaker, or Gorges and Mason and their partners stronger, it might well have been that another Virginia might have grown up on their immediate northern border, or at least a government having no sympathies with theirs, and which would have been a continual thorn in their side. How far such a fear would justify her conduct in the beginning, may well be argued on either side, and when that fear had once led to overt acts of encroachment, there were too many reasons that would not unnaturally lead Massachusetts to continue, although the original fear might cease, and the true cause of her claims be forgotten. In all her claims, when they came before an English court, she was defeated, except the three-mile line north of the Merrimack. And of that, we may easily believe that had Robert Tufton Mason known the strength of his ancestor's title, as we now know it, Massachusetts might have deemed it a great victory to have stopped New Hampshire at the river.

The controversy with New York, with the decision of the king in council which tore New Hampshire in twain, and, without benefiting New York, made way for the admission of Vermont as a state in this Union, would also reward the careful student who should set in order the causes which led to the controversy, with the ground of claim on either side, and with the subsequent struggle which brought Vermont into the Union.

On our northern border, a very pretty story might be made out of the Indian Stream territory, and how that came to be in New Hampshire, in view of the decision of the king in council in the New York case.

The last word has not been said in relation to the Wheelwright deed; its want of authenticity is still doubtful, and, if it be indeed a forgery, an interesting question might arise as to by whom and for what purpose it was forged. It seems to have come prominently to light in the Masonian controversy, but it never had any legal bearing on that controversy, nor does any great weight seem to have been thought of in it. That it should have been forged for the purpose of those suits is hardly credible. It seems to have been known as existent long before those suits were commenced. For what purpose was such a forgery committed? The only controversy in which it could have had any place would seem to have been the claim of Massachusetts to dominion over New Hampshire. When that suit was determined by the king in council, in 1686, there was no further occasion for it, and it lay dormant until again reviewed in *Allen v. Waldron*. The whole matter of the Wheelwright deed would make a subject for a monograph, when taken in hand by one who sought more for truth than victory.

The other New England states were settled by a comparatively homogeneous population. In New Hampshire, the Devon and Cornish settlements on the Piscataqua, the fishing settlements up the river, the Bay settlement at Hampton, the heterodox settlement at Exeter, later the Scotch-Irish settlement at Londonderry and other towns, the two streams of immigration—from Massachusetts toward the north-west, and from Connecticut up the Connecticut river,—with the consequent mingling of races and of policies, have produced a people who cannot well be understood without considering these diverse origins. Have we not among us some associate member who can take this theme and show how much New Hampshire owes to this mixture of different elements in her population. To write such an account would require a broad catholicity in him who undertook it, who could see in what way each of these streams of migration had its own elements of strength and weakness, and to give to each its fair estimate of value in the whole.

To the student who looks to see the character and the strength or weakness of a people represented in its political

institutions and its laws, our state presents a peculiarly valuable study. New Hampshire had, in her own experience, but little to complain of in her treatment by the mother country; if anything, she had been favored for many years by the home government, and that she should have cast herself into the struggle for independence with the zeal and the sacrifices that she did, can only be explained by the liberty-loving character of her people; while their respect for the forms of law, and their faith in their rules and in the justice of their government, show their intelligent regard for the right.

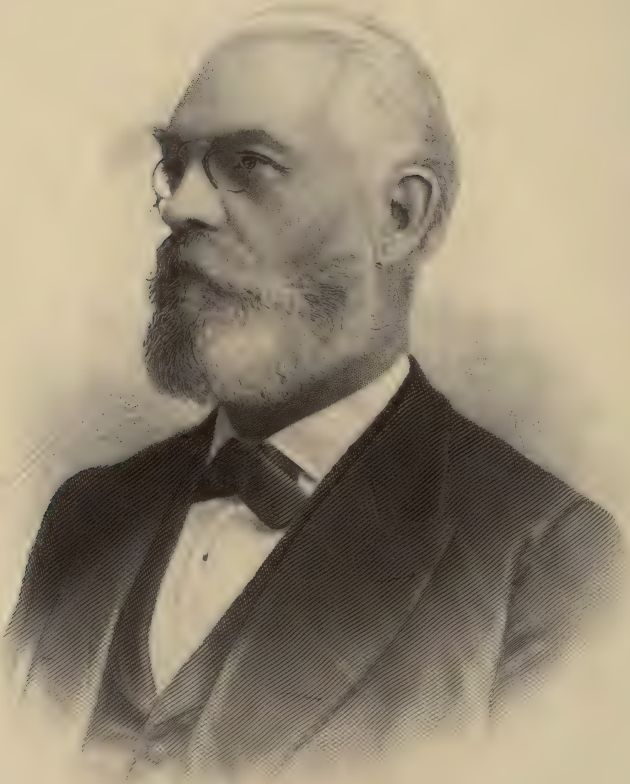
That New Hampshire should have retained a constitution, unchanged in but a single particular, from 1792 to 1876, eighty-four years, and then changed because it had been outgrown, so that the basis of representation had become too unwieldy for the constantly increasing population, should call attention to the way that constitution was framed. In too many instances, written constitutions were made by conventions but imperfectly representing the people, and provisions inserted because certain interests were affected or certain doctrinaire views captured the unthinking convention (unthinking in the sense that the provisions were not fully and fairly considered, but carried "*ad captandum*" upon their delusive promise). The New Hampshire constitution of 1792 was the outcome of efforts long continued, to attain the true sober sense of the people. Repeated drafts of the constitution were submitted to the people, and the people, in their town-meetings, read the proposed constitution article by article and section by section, amended, adopted, or rejected them, and then returned them to the convention, which, so instructed as to the wishes of the people, after repeated trials produced a constitution which, meeting the merited approval of all good men, remained their fundamental law until its provisions, by the unforeseen growth of the population of the state, had become too unwieldy, in its representative proportion, for the comfortable transaction of the public business.

Why should a small state, without commerce enough to visibly affect her policy, have a political constitution and laws so remarkably well adapted to promote the growth and happiness

of a free people, and, in the orderly manner in which all its public business has been ever conducted, call for the admiration of all dispassionate observers? And if late years have, in some degree, seen a falling off in these so desirable characteristics, how has it happened? And in what way should we strive to return to better manners? These are questions which may well vie in importance with the mere collection of facts, as part of the duty of the society.

This, by no means, exhausts the studies which New Hampshire history presents, and which, if New Hampshire men do not take them up, will be left unstudied and unknown. As a lover of my native state, holding her good name as one of my most valued possessions, I do most sincerely wish that some one, equal to each of these tasks, may be found, and that this Society, which has honored me far above my merits, might be the means of finding and stimulating such studies. In leaving the position of president of the Society, which you have twice conferred upon me, I wish most heartily to thank each and all of you for your cordial support in the discharge of its duties. And now, in again taking my place upon the floor, I only ask that I may be permitted to resume any duties within my capacity which may come to me.

And thanking you one and all, I leave the Society in the good hands of my successor and those whom you have placed with him in charge of its affairs.



John G. Bell

JOHN J. BELL, ESQ.

John James Bell, a son of Samuel Dana and Mary H. (Healey) Bell and a grandson of Governor Samuel Bell, was born in Chester, October 30, 1827. He became a resident member of the New Hampshire Historical Society in 1866 and a life member in 1876. He was an active and useful member of the Society, and was its president from June 10, 1891, to June 14, 1893. Mr. Bell was reared in an atmosphere of law. His father was an eminent jurist, and served fifteen years as associate and chief justice of the supreme judicial court. John James Bell was admitted to the bar in 1848, and practised in Nashua, Milford, Carmel, Me., and after 1864 in Exeter. He was a member of the house of representatives in 1883, 1885, 1887, 1891, serving on important committees, and at all times enjoying the confidence and esteem of his associates. He died August 22, 1893.

FIRST ADJOURNED SEVENTY-FIRST ANNUAL
MEETING.

HILLSBOROUGH, N. H., October 3, 1893.

The first adjourned seventy-first annual meeting and annual field day of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held at Hillsborough Bridge on Tuesday, October 3, 1893.

The field day programme was arranged by a special committee consisting of

Hon. JOHN B. SMITH, Hillsborough ;
Col. J. EASTMAN PECKER, Concord ;
ISAAC K. GAGE, Esq., Penacook.

The party attending was composed of about fifty members of the Society, including ladies, with a few invited guests, and left Concord at 9 o'clock a. m., reaching Hillsborough Bridge at a quarter past ten in the forenoon.

His Excellency Governor Smith met the party with carriages upon arrival at the railway station, and conveyed the members to his residence, where they were most cordially welcomed by the Governor and Mrs. Smith, who extended to the entire party the hospitalities of their elegant home. A brief reception followed, in which all were formally presented to the host and hostess by Colonel Scruton of the governor's staff. Rev. D. W. Goodale and wife, Mr. and Mrs. Ruthven Childs, of Hillsborough, and Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Lavender and Miss Lavender, of Boston, assisted in the reception.

At 11 o'clock carriages were taken for a drive to places of historic interest in and about the town, and calls were made at the former residence of Governor Benjamin Pierce, erected in 1802, and in which ex-President Franklin Pierce was born in 1804, also at the residence of Kirk D. Pierce, a nephew of the ex-president, where many mementoes of President Pierce were kindly shown the party. Bible hill and the famous Johnson house were also visited. Returning from the drive, the Governor and Mrs. Smith at one o'clock entertained the party at an elaborate lunch elegantly served.

A business meeting occurred immediately after the lunch, President Hadley presiding.

At the suggestion of Hon. Joseph B. Walker, and on motion of Hon. L. D. Stevens,

Voted, That when adjournment takes place to-day, it be to meet again at the call of the President ; and that the latter be requested to call the society together at an early day to devise and consider measures for further advancement of the interests of the society, and arrange a more definite plan of action.

The following named persons were elected members of the Society :

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Capt. ELIJAH MORRILL SHAW, Nashua ;
Rev. WILLIAM H. MORRISON, Manchester ;
Mrs. EMMA L. SMITH, Hillsborough ;
Maj. HENRY MCFARLAND, Concord ;
OTIS GRANT HAMMOND, Esq., Concord.

HONORARY MEMBER.

Hon. CHRISTOPHER BELL BOUTON, Chicago.

Letters were presented by the Secretary from Hon. A. S. Wait of Newport, Hon. A. S. Batchellor of Littleton, and Prof. John Ordronaux, LL. D., of New York ; after which the Society repaired to the Congregational church in which an audience of the citizens of Hillsborough, with ladies and a large number of school children, had assembled to avail themselves of the opportunity of listening to the orator of the day. Governor Smith called this meeting to order, and gave the Society a formal welcome, presenting the President, the Hon. Amos Hadley, Ph. D., who delivered the annual address, taking for his theme the history of Hillsborough.

MR. HADLEY'S ADDRESS.

This is for us a day of historic retrospect. Our minds are called to revert to the olden times, and to glide upon the

lapse of more than one hundred fifty years back to the living present. Where we now are, amid all the pleasant surroundings of enlightened civilization, stood, in the thirties and forties of the eighteenth century, the primeval forest, in which flourished together, in dense luxuriance, the lofty pine, fit for the "tall admiral"—and ere long to be coveted as such by the British navy—the sturdy oak, the graceful beech, the sweet-distilling maple, and the other characteristic growths of the rugged New Hampshire upland. It was a forest, too, through whose depths the red Penacook had been wont to stray, and where he had, at his own wild pleasure, roamed, fished, and hunted.

This region of unbroken wilderness, the ambitious colony of Massachusetts would fain possess against the better claim of the royal province of New Hampshire. For had it not been declared in the charter of the Massachusetts Bay company, a hundred years before, that the northern boundary of its grant should be a line three miles north of the Merrimack and "any and every part thereof?" To be sure, that line had been prescribed in total ignorance of the geographical fact that the Merrimack has a sharp bend from its longer southerly course. But, "What of that?" said Massachusetts; "I must have for my boundary line, one three miles north of that river Merrimack, and any and every part thereof,—including its head, wherever found. That ugly bend shall not push me from my chartered rights. East, by construction, shall be North from bend to a point three miles north of head; and through that point my northern boundary line shall pass from the Atlantic Ocean on the east to the South Sea on the west." Upon this ridiculous assumption, rested the great "line" contention, which, in the thirties of the eighteenth century, had been on for a hundred years, more or less, but which now seemed likely to reach a settlement some time within a decade.

Massachusetts was not remiss in guarding her interests. "Possession is eleven points in the law." She would get the territory within her asserted limits granted, at any rate, and occupied, if possible, let the royal decree as to her northern boundary be what it might. As at an earlier date she had

granted Suncook and Penacook—the latter being the Rumford or Concord of later days—so now she caused to be laid off two tiers of townships between the north-west corner of Rumford and the Great Falls¹ of the Connecticut, embracing a tract twelve miles wide, the townships each being six miles square. This was done, forsooth, to have “a line of settlements on the frontier as a protection against the Indians.”

At some time between 1735 and 1741, a township situated in the lower or southern tier, and numbered Seven “in the line of townships,” came into the hands of Col. John Hill and others; the former being an enterprising citizen of Boston, and intent upon effecting a settlement of the grant. Meanwhile, in 1740, King George II decided the vexed boundary question, and recognizing the difference between north and east, made the common-sense construction of the Massachusetts charter, that the northern line of the colony should lie three miles north of the Merrimack, as far as the course of that river was easterly, and from the bend should extend due west to His Majesty's other dominions. By this decision, No. 7 “in the line of townships” was thrown far to the north of the northern line of Massachusetts, and within the indisputable jurisdiction of New Hampshire. But Colonel Hill seems to have found the authorities of New Hampshire good-natured and compliant, and so he went on with his project of settlement.

Accordingly, in 1741, up came from the country below, James McColley and wife to make their home in the wilderness of No. 7. The sturdy Scotch-Irishman built his log house beside a huge rock, within the limits of the locality afterwards to be known as the Bridge. There the adventurous couple, as sole pioneers, dwelt all alone in their first Hillsborough house for nearly a year, and during that time the brave wife never saw the face of another of her sex. But by and by came Samuel Gibson, Robert McClure, James Lyon, James Graham, and others of unknown names, till at length seven or eight families dwelt within the limits of the township. In the rude home of James McColley was born, on the 18th of January, 1742, the first child of the township—a boy, who was named John; and four months

¹ Bellows Falls.

later, May 19, in the log house of Samuel Gibson, the second child, but the first girl, in the settlement, was born, and received the name Elizabeth.

The settlers were anon busy at their toilsome pioneer labors, in which they were liberally encouraged by the proprietors, who early built for them a church—with "glass windows," as is recorded—and a parsonage house. The settlement promised permanence. But in 1744 arose the war between France and England, called King George's, and signalized in 1745 by the fall of Louisburg. This war meant for the border settlements of New Hampshire a fearful series of insidious and bloody onslaughts from the Indian allies of the French. The lonely dwellers in No. 7 had, naturally, all along had their fears. But, lately, armed Indians had been seen prowling about the falls of the Contoocook where is now the Bridge; and now, finally, in the April days of 1746 came the news of a savage descent, with guns, tomahawks, and scalping knives, upon a fortified house on Putney hill in Hopkinton, only a dozen miles away, and of the capture of its eight inmates. The inhabitants of No. 7 were occupying six localities somewhat remote from one another; they had no effective means of defence; and as, moreover, they had no appetite for Indian scalping or captivity, they wisely resolved to withdraw southward in all haste. Packing up what of their goods they could carry and burying the rest, but driving along their cattle, they departed to seek a safer abiding-place; some of them finding a home in Litchfield, on the Merrimack.

Thus No. 7 was abandoned, and left to return to forest wildness; its houses, save the parsonage, became the prey of the red man's torch; its meeting-house fell in ashes by the hand of a white incendiary. For more than fifteen years the abandoned township remained without inhabitants. The first settlers had not, in their leaving, waited for the peace, or rather truce, of Utrecht, in which King George's War ceased in 1748, and they would have gained little in point of permanent security had they done so; for ere long came another, and the final, struggle between France and England for supremacy in North America. In this last French and Indian War, the red allies of France plied, as usual, their deadly task along the frontier settlements of New Hampshire.

But Colonel Hill did not lose heart. He was determined to found a town. He had become the sole owner of No. 7, and had also obtained a quitclaim from the Masonian proprietors—the twelve gentlemen of Portsmouth and vicinity, who held, by recent purchase from the heir of John Mason, the founder of New Hampshire, certain rights in territory to the “extent of sixty miles from the sea, on each side of the province, and a line to cross over from the end of one line of sixty miles to the end of the other.” When, at last, the English conquest of Canada had rendered the frontiers safe from Indian incursion, the plucky proprietor resolved to try again to people his domain. He was ready to sell his land at fifty cents the acre. As early as 1762, he had found a pair of resolute pioneers in Daniel Murphy (or McMurphy), of Cheshire (or Chester), and his wife, who, in that year, took up their abode in the township, upon the fine eminence afterwards known as Bible hill—a locality, by the way, that once bade fair to become the centre of population, and came by its name from the fact that Deacons Isaac Andrews and Joseph Symonds, once dwelling there, were the owners of the only large Bibles in town. The worthy couple seem to have been the sole occupants of No. 7 for a year or more. The resolute wife, too, it is related, remained a fortnight quite alone during a necessary absence of her husband, and, in her loneliness, so longed “to have somebody to speak to,” and to hear, amid the howlings of the wolf and the moanings of the pine, a responsive human voice, that she would go forth from her cabin, even at midnight, and cry aloud that the woods might echo her accents, and afford her relief by their mocking replies.

Passing once through Litchfield in making a visit to his domain on the Contoocook, Colonel Hill met John McColley and Elizabeth Gibson—those first children born upon the soil of No. 7, in the former settlement—and urged them to marry, promising to give them a hundred acres of land if they would do so, and, removing to his township, take residence there. The kind colonel's advice and proffer found willing hearts and ready compliance. The happy pair were soon “at home” upon the acres of their wedding gift; and there, as another has expressed it, they “lived in the enjoyment of domestic felicity for more

than sixty years.”¹ John and Samuel Gibson, brothers of Elizabeth, also settled in the township. And thus the seed of the first settlement was planted in the second.

By the year 1767 sixteen families had become permanently established in No. 7, the heads of which, besides those already named, were,—Isaac Andrews, William Taggart, Isaac Baldwin, Moses Steel, Jonathan Sargent, William Pope, Benjamin Lovejoy, William Williams, Timothy Wilkins, John Easty, Jonathan Durant, Lieut. Samuel Bradford, and Capt. Samuel Bradford, Sr. The last two settled on Bible hill, where Captain Bradford kept the first tavern in the township. He also built its first saw- and grist-mill, and was the first commander of its first military company.

In 1772, now that No. 7 had its twenty-two freeholders, application was made by them, through Isaac Andrews, their agent, to Gov. John Wentworth and his council, for a town charter. The application was earnestly supported by the proprietor, and the prayer of the petition was granted. The charter, bearing the date of November 14, 1772, was duly issued with the governor's signature, for which Colonel Hill had paid, as a fee, the equivalent of fifty dollars in gold. In that instrument the limits of the new town were designated by its “beech trees;” its “white pines” were reserved for the “royal navy,” and the name *Hillborough* was given it in honor of its generous patron. Ere long the name received a sibilant intruder—a fact tending to confuse its origin with that of the name of the county newly formed, and named for Governor Wentworth's friend, the Earl of Hillsborough. But the name of the town has no connection with that of the English nobleman. With or without an *s*, it appropriately perpetuates the name of Col. John Hill, who, now within four years of the end of a busy, useful life, chequered with success and reverse, had, after forty years of persistent striving, founded, at last, his town in the wilderness of New Hampshire.

Within ten days, on the twenty-fourth of November, 1772, was held the first Hillborough—or Hillsborough—town meeting,

¹ Charles J. Smith, in “Annals of the Town of Hillsborough,” to which valuable production the author of this address is indebted for many facts.

at the inn of Capt. Samuel Bradford, on Bible hill. Isaac Baldwin, who had been authorized to call the first meeting of the inhabitants, was moderator. The charter was accepted, and organization under it was effected by the choice of Isaac Andrews as town clerk, and Isaac Andrews, John McColley, Daniel McNeil, Isaac Baldwin, and William Pope as selectmen. It is not likely that, of the one hundred twenty or more annual town meetings since held in Hillsborough, there has been one more harmonious, or one in which a better selection of officials has been made.

In Hillsborough, with its community of Puritan and Presbyterian ancestry and earnest religious convictions, the church naturally antedated the town. It was of the Congregational order, and was organized in 1769, three years before the charter. Colonel Hill had early given ten acres, near the centre of the town, for "a meeting-house, burial-ground, and common;" moreover, in the former settlement, he had, as will be recollected, built a church and parsonage; but now, in the re-settlement, he was hindered by financial reverses, from such contribution. In consequence, the second meeting-house was somewhat slow in building, having been voted in 1773, but, owing largely to the pressure of war, not completed until 1779. The people, however, "went to meeting" regularly, from the beginning—holding their religious services, in summer, in a barn; in winter, in a private house. In the autumn of 1772—the charter year—came to the pastorate, on call of church and town, the Rev. Jonathan Barnes, a young man of twenty-three years, with a Harvard education, and full of promise of good. Literally, in getting to Hillsborough in those days, one found "a hard road to travel," along the rough, blazed path, where should some time be the easy highway, turnpike, and railway; for it is recorded that three men were required "to steady the vehicle which conveyed the furniture of the Rev. Mr. Barnes from Amherst to the town."¹ The young minister was formally ordained in Lieut. Samuel Bradford's barn, on Bible hill, with the ladies gallantly "accommodated with seats in the centre" of the primitive parquet. His salary was meagre, and somewhat

¹ "Annals of Hillsborough."

curiously graded from a minimum of one hundred sixty-nine dollars to a maximum of three hundred twenty-one, as testifies the following quaint vote of the town: "Voted unanimously to fix the Rev. Mr. Barnes's salary, that we will give him thirty pounds by way of settlement, thirty-five pounds a year for the first four years, then forty pounds a year until there shall be seventy families in town, and when there shall be seventy families, he is to be entitled to fifty pounds, whether sooner or later, until there be ninety families. When there is ninety families he shall receive sixty pounds, until there is one hundred and ten families; when one hundred and ten families, he shall receive sixty-six pounds, eight shillings, and four pence a year, which last sum he shall continue to receive so long as he remains our minister."

With salary hedged about with such explicit prolixity—as hard to get over or through as a modern barbed wire fence—the pastor took possession of the two hundred and fifty acres which Colonel Hill had allotted for the first settled minister. Cheerfully performing double duty as minister and farmer, he gained means for the support of his household, and for charity: for his was a generous, sympathetic heart, and an open hand; need and sorrow found in him ever ready help. Earnest and impressive in the pulpit, he was of an unsectarian liberality of view, and of a Christian catholicity of feeling towards those who could not believe as he did, quite uncommon in his day—to say nothing of our own. It has been said of him, that "as a citizen he exerted a commanding influence in maintaining social order, preserving unanimity of feeling, and otherwise advancing the prosperity of the town."¹ Paralyzed by a lightning stroke, he retired from the pastorate, which he had filled for thirty-one years, and died in 1802, in his fifty-sixth year. He "was buried on the precise spot where the pulpit had stood" in the second meeting-house. This, having been removed a little distance, had become a school-house, while a new site near by was occupied by the third church edifice, raised in 1789, and completed in 1792—the venerable Town-house, destined to stand its century, and then to fall in con-

¹ "Annals of Hillsborough."

suming fire. Of the successors in the pastorate of that Centre church, or of its child, that of the Bridge—a Chapin, a Lawton, a Farnsworth, and many an other; or of those who have ministered the word in the Methodist and Baptist connections, more recent in origin—a Hatfield, a Prescott, an Atwood, and others—of all these, no one, however excellent, presents to the historian a nobler record than the first pastor of the First Congregational church in Hillsborough.

Of the three professions—divinity, medicine, and law—the first was thus early and eminently represented in Hillsborough. Next after the minister, and in 1782, came the physician. William Little heads a list of learned and skilful practitioners in medicine, extending to the present time, and bearing such names as Munroe, Crain, Smith, Hatch, Preston, and Burnham. Twenty years later, in 1802, came David Starret, whose name stands first in order upon the roll of Hillsborough's lawyers. That roll is indeed one of honor, with a Burnham, a Steele, a Pierce, a Baker, an Ayer, a Blood, and others of a later day to fill it out. In fact, something of the best in professional talent and learning has always found a congenial atmosphere in Hillsborough—a fact infallibly denoting a community of superior intelligence.

Hillsborough had her schoolmaster even before her settled minister; for in 1770, George Bemaine, a well educated Englishman, and a schoolmate of Dilworth, of spelling-book fame, was teaching the first school in town, in a log school-house, located on the road "leading from the Lower Village to the Bridge;" which work he continued till the Revolution, when he fell fighting on the American side at White Plains. Mention is also made of Widow Muzzey, who taught the younger children, and was the first female teacher in the town. Moreover, at that period, and later, some of busy Parson Barnes's time was given in the winter, to instructing young men "in the rudiments of an English education." Before the close of the Revolution the town had an organized system of schools, and had begun, as early as 1780, to vote liberal appropriations for their support. Nor since, even until now, has Hillsborough been backward in the great work of education, but has ever been prompt to

avail herself of all improvements suggested by enlightened experience or embodied in progressive legislation. When, sixty years ago, and before the advent of the high school of the graded system, the academy became a popular passion—of most commendable intent, though sometimes impracticable—Hillsborough had her academy, and thus signified her purpose to neglect no possible means for promoting the intellectual improvement of her rising generations. As the result of all her efforts, her sons and daughters, strengthened and panoplied for victory in the varied battle of life by the educational advantages she has generously supplied, arise to call her blessed. In fine, with her churches and her schools, her library and her newspapers, Hillsborough seems to be doing her best, as indeed she has always seemed to do, to enforce and practise the great principle, that knowledge and virtue are the only safety of a free people.

When, in 1775, the Revolutionary War actively opened, Hillsborough had been steadily increasing in her population of hardy, industrious, intelligent, liberty-loving people, who now numbered forty families. Sunny openings in the dark forests laughed to put on the garments of culture. The reluctant soil surrendered at discretion to the persistent husbandman, giving up to him, in ample yield, its hidden precious stores of present sustenance and of future competence and wealth. But now the pursuits of peace must be interrupted; the plow must be left in the furrow; the hoe, dropped for the gun. All the harsh exactions of war must be met,—as manfully they were met in Hillsborough. It is recorded that “a majority of the able-bodied men in the town served in the army personally, many others by substitute.”

Then it was that Captain Samuel Baldwin, the fifth of the second band of settlers in No. 7—the first moderator, and a member of the first board of selectmen of the town, wherein he was universally beloved,—heard of Lexington. That intelligence was his bugle-call to duty. Though but thirty-nine years old, he was a veteran in military service; having fought his “twenty battles,” as a ranger with Stark and Rogers in the French and Indian War. In eager haste he

"collected a band of volunteers" as brave as he, and hurried away to Medford. A company, largely composed of men of Heniker, Hopkinton, and Hillsborough, was soon organized, and with him for its captain, was enrolled in Stark's regiment. On the 17th of June, 1775, he marched with his company, in a detachment under the command of the brave Major McClary, upon Bunker Hill, where, all too soon, he fell mortally wounded. Tenderly borne from the field by John McNeil and John Gibson, his townsmen, he expired at sunset of that eventful day. There was mourning then in Hillsborough for the dead hero,—the favorite citizen, the soldier of brilliant promise; while, as another¹ has recently written "deep veneration for his memory exists to this day." But there is also proud honor for the town in the military record of such citizens as Ammi Andrews, Samuel Bradford, John McColley, John McNeil, James Taggart, and Robert B. Wilkins, or "Bob Wilks,"—as Lafayette used, in his broken English accent, affectionately to call the last. Good men and true were the thirty of Hillsborough who fought in the war which gave our country place among the nations of the earth.

But in the lapse of years, there came, and has gone, a greater war—that for the Union. The nation, born in the seventies of the eighteenth century, was saved in the sixties of the nineteenth. In the latter struggle, Hillsborough did not, through remissness, blur her fair record of achievement in the former. The spirit of the fathers still moved the sons nobly to do and dare as in the elder days. Her men were in nearly every regiment of volunteers sent from New Hampshire to the "ensanguined field," as well as in other branches of the service, including the regular. They fought as well in this war as had an Andrews, a Bradford, or a McNeil, in the other; and Merrill, Reed, Templeton, and Wilson died as nobly as had Baldwin. Nor is it amiss to note the fact, that one who went forth to valiant duty and important command in the regular service, and who, returning enwreathed with honor, finds again his home among his native hills, is of lineal descent from an earliest settler of No. 7—a Graham, with name transformed to Grimes.²

¹ Col. Frank H. Pierce, in *Granite Monthly*.

² Col. J. F. Grimes.

It is the proud fortune of Hillsborough to have had among her sons, native or adopted, those who won eminent distinction in state and nation; whose character and deeds have given more than local significance to her history; whose names dignify her name, and whose fame is a "pearl of great price" in her coronet of honor.

There is a good Scotch-Irish name, McNeil, already mentioned more than once in this sketch, which was borne by an early settler of the town, by his son, the brave Lieut. John McNeil, of Revolutionary fame, and by a worthy son of the latter. Of the twenty men of Hillsborough who fought in that War of 1812, in which our country re-asserted its independence, and vindicated its rights against the insolent pretensions of England, John McNeil, the younger, was one. He had risen to be major of his regiment,—the Eleventh United States infantry,—when, on the 5th of July, 1814, was fought the battle of Chippewa. In command of his regiment, "attached to the forlorn hope," McNeil had led in much fierce and effective work in the bloody encounter; but victory was reluctant to perch upon the American ensign—indeed, defeat was imminent. And now the elated enemy advances in impetuous charge, upon the Ninth; this crushed, victory is theirs! But the cool, clear-sighted commander of the Eleventh saw his opportunity, and, "on his own responsibility," risked a movement. Loud rang out the command—"Eleventh! form line to the front, on the right platoon!" The order was no sooner given than executed, and the British veterans, raked by the dreadful oblique fire, broke in quick retreat, and Chippewa was an American victory. Twenty days later, in the night battle of Lundy's Lane, within the sound of Niagara's roar, the same gallant son of Hillsborough, with leg fearfully shattered at the knee by a carronade, still led his command,—though tortured with intensest pain, and weak from loss of blood,—and gained fresh honors both "for distinguished valor" and heroic fortitude.

In the autumn of 1785, a young Chelmsford man of twenty-eight, returning home from Stoddard, where he had been upon an exploring agency, happened to pass through the south-west part of Hillsborough. Pleased with the locality, he bought fifty

acres of land, and came back the next spring to occupy his purchase. Benjamin Pierce—for that was the young man's name—had served throughout the Revolution, and had returned home almost penniless, from the depreciation of Continental money. A boy of eighteen, he had dropped the plow which he was holding when he heard of Lexington ; but now a man of eight years' military service, he earnestly resumed the pursuit of agriculture in his new home. Though almost by accident this man had found a home in Hillsborough, yet he became one of the most honored and distinguished citizens not only of the town but of the state. He soon began to take a leader's hand in civil and military affairs, and held it for more than forty years. He was earnest, honest, resolute, cheerful, sympathetic, and hospitable. While there was the strength of unswerving purpose in lip and jaw, there was the merry twinkle of good nature in the eye. He had to such a degree the confidence and affectionate respect of the people of his town, county, and state that he was almost constantly in official position, and as legislator, sheriff, councilor, and governor, he always proved himself worthy of his trust. Benjamin Pierce was a sincere friend of the people, and the people knew it ; in this lay the secret of his popularity. His patriotism was an enthusiasm, a religion. He had no patience with those who were not for their country "every time," in war or in peace. Woe to the man who, having opposed the War of 1812, wanted office at his hands while he was governor of New Hampshire ! "I won't appoint him," resolutely said the old patriot, "I won't appoint him ; he wa' n't true when blood run—when blood run !"

In the early years of the present century, while yet the barbarism of imprisonment for debt was tolerated, three veterans of the Revolution, guilty only of poverty, lay immured in Amherst jail. Then it was that Benjamin Pierce, high sheriff of the county of Hillsborough, impelled by patriotism and humanity, did that generous act of prison release, the like of which, in moral beauty, one may not often find recorded in biography. The conscientious executor of the law's decrees, showing the tender, sympathetic man through his stern official exterior, paying from his own purse the debts and charges, and, with the

jailer's keys in hand, unlocking the gloomy doors, and letting the unfortunate prisoners go free to enjoy the "boon" of liberty for which they as well as he had fought,—here is, indeed, a theme for the poet's pen, a scene for the painter's pencil. What touching eloquence, too, in these words of release :

"My unfortunate fellow-citizens: The feelings excited by a view of your situation are inexpressible. That those heads, silvered by age and hardship, and those hearts, throbbing with kindly emotions, should be held for this long period of time by their fellow-citizens, without the imputation of a crime, is more than my nature is able to endure. But, as an officer of the county, I have a duty to perform. I must either be governed by the law, and suffer you still to remain the devoted victims of unavoidable misfortune and honest poverty, shut out from the genial light of heaven and the vital air, God's equal gift to all, or I must be directed by the powerful impulse of humanity, pay the debt myself, and bid you leave this dreary and gloomy abode. . . . My duty to my country, whose honor is deeply implicated by your sufferings, and my duty to my God, who has put it into my power to relieve, irresistibly urge me to the latter course. In this view, go, receive the uncontaminated air which is diffused abroad for the comfort of man. Be correct in your habits, be industrious, and may the best of heaven's blessings accompany you the remainder of your days."

The reminiscent glance now passes from the father to the son—the distinguished son of the distinguished father; the son born and reared in Hillsborough, and through life filial to his native town; the son who enrolled the name of Pierce upon the scroll of presidents of the United States. Inheriting, as it were, his father's mantle of popular favor, that son, with brilliant and cultivated intellect, fascinating eloquence, and amiable and generous spirit, wore it gracefully. His talent in the profession of the law reached genius; in politics his leadership was a fine art. A genial, cordial, cultured man, he was a true gentleman. Personal admiration and profound respect for his memory are not withheld even by those who could not, and cannot, approve of the entire course of his political action. And such, too, will regret that they must thus qualify their praise of

one who had so much of the great, the good, and the noble in his nature as had Franklin Pierce.

This hasty retrospect notes, in passing to its end, the important promotive influence of the useful and beautiful Contoocook upon the growth and prosperity of Hillsborough. Spanned in 1779 by its bridge, at first of wood and afterwards—by rebuilding and repairs—of stone, the river flowed on till the early years of the present century, with its rapid and unfailing waters but scantily appropriated to industrial uses. Thenceforward, however, to the present day, it has turned factory wheels, whirled busy spindles, and set in motion the other mechanical appliances of that varied manufacturing industry which has coöperated with agriculture to promote public and private prosperity. Nor is its virtue of profitable production exhausted; there is yet golden remuneration in its dashing waters, if these but be diverted into the sluices of sagacious enterprise. Beside the Contoocook, and nourished by it,—the beautiful child, by the beautiful mother,—has grown up to flourishing and promising strength the village of the Bridge, supplied with all the means and appliances of right and happy living. But though the Bridge is the magnetic centre of business and population, it is not all of Hillsborough, for the latter has besides, its Centre, Upper, and Lower villages, each with its special interests and attractions, while the pleasant homes of its intelligent and progressive farmers, among the hills, help to make it a model town.

It is not, however, within the scope of the present sketch to dwell upon the living present, its acts and actors. History is making every day, and it will, in its own proper time, be written. Then will it appear that as essentially noble things are doing now by the noble sons and daughters of the town as were done by the fathers and mothers in any former time. And let the prediction be added, that when to-day shall have become the historic yesterday, the retrospect of its persons and events will not fail to place high in honor among the names of the most enlightened, enterprising, and generous promoters of Hillsborough's prosperity, that of him¹ who now so ably fills the gubernatorial chair of New Hampshire.

¹ John B. Smith, the successful manufacturer, meritorious citizen, and upright man.

A vote of thanks, on motion of Rev. C. L. Tappan, was extended to President Hadley for his able and interesting address, and a copy of the same requested for publication.

Hon. J. B. Walker moved a vote of thanks on the part of the Society to Governor and Mrs. Smith, for their generous and elegant hospitality, Gen. Howard L. Porter seconded the motion, and Hon. L. D. Stevens followed with fitting remarks, after which the motion was passed unanimously, and the meeting adjourned.

The party returning reached Concord about 6 o'clock p. m. It was the opinion of all in attendance, that the occasion was one of the most delightful the society had ever enjoyed.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

SECOND ADJOURNED SEVENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, N. H., November 14, 1893.

The second adjourned seventy-first annual meeting of the Society was held in the office of the library, Tuesday, November 14, 1893, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, President Hadley in the chair.

Hon. Joseph B. Walker briefly explained the object of this adjourned meeting, which had been called upon his motion at a previous session, to be the arrangement of some definite plan of action for the futherance of the interests of the Society, and to consider the expediency of publishing another volume of collections.

After considerable discussion, on motion of Hon. Albert S. Wait, of Newport,

Voted, That the Publishing Committee be authorized to publish a volume of the Governor Plummer Biographical Papers, to consist of such number of pages, and according to such method of arrangement as may appear most judicious to the committee.

The committee on New Members recommended the election of

ARTHUR C. BAILEY, Newport,
GEORGE H. MOSES, Concord,

as resident members of the Society. The report was accepted, and the persons named duly elected by ballot.

On motion of Rev. C. L. Tappan,

Voted, That the Society arrange for the delivery of four lectures the coming winter, upon historical subjects; and further voted that

Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER,
JOHN C. ORDWAY, Esq.,
Hon. JOHN KIMBALL,

be a committee to select and invite the lecturers, and make all necessary arrangements.

On motion of Hon. J. B. Walker,

Voted, That the librarian be authorized to purchase such local histories of New Hampshire towns, and towns in other states adjacent, together with genealogies of New Hampshire families, not now in the library, at an expense not exceeding twenty-five dollars.

On motion of Hon. J. B. Walker,

Voted, That whereas, two highly esteemed members and ex-Presidents of this Society, the Hon. John J. Bell and the Hon. Charles H. Bell, both of Exeter, have passed into immortality, the former on the 22nd day of August ultimo, and the latter on the 10th day of November instant;

Resolved, That this Society hereby expresses its appreciation of the high character of these, our late associates, whose public and private acts command our highest respect, and that we deeply deplore their loss to this Society and to the state;

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent by the secretary to the families of the deceased.

Voted, That when we adjourn, it be to meet again at the call of the President.

At 12:40 o'clock p. m., voted to adjourn.

JOHN C. ORDWAY, *Secretary*.

SEVENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, Wednesday, June 13, 1894.

The seventy-second annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held at the Society's rooms at 11 o'clock a. m.

President Hadley called the meeting to order; and in the absence of the Secretary, John C. Ordway, Hon. P. B. Cogswell was chosen Secretary *pro tem*.

Voted, That the President appoint committees on nomination of officers, and on new members. And the following named gentlemen were appointed.

For the nomination of officers:

REV. NATHAN F. CARTER,
HON. ALBERT S. WAIT,
DR. ELI E. GRAVES.

For new members:

REV. CHARLES L. TAPPAN,
ISAAC K. GAGE, ESQ.,
COL. J. E. PECKER.

In the absence of the Treasurer, William P. Fiske, the President read the Treasurer's Report, as follows:

The Treasurer respectfully submits the following report of receipts and expenditures:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

RECEIPTS.

Balance from last year	.	.	.	\$13,311.02
Amount received for initiation fees	.			50.00
from assessments	.			309.00
int. on investments				580.61
for books sold	.			91.65
				—————\$14,342.28

EXPENDITURES.

Paid Librarian acct. of salary . . .	\$250.00
for books purchased . . .	15.00
Librarian for sundry expenses . . .	62.33
for printing	26.11
insurance	20.82
sundry items	10.00
	<hr/>
	\$384.26
Balance	\$13,958.02
Permanent funds	\$11,000.00
Current funds	2,958.02
	<hr/>
	\$13,958.02

WILLIAM P. FISKE,
Treasurer.

I have this day examined the account of William P. Fiske, Treasurer of the New Hampshire Society, and find the same correctly cast and sustained by proper vouchers.

ISAAC K. GAGE,
Auditor.

Concord, N. H., May 11, 1894

On motion of C. L. Tappan the report was accepted and placed on file.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

To the Annual Meeting of the N. H. Historical Society:

The Librarian respectfully presents his annual report, for the year ending June 13, 1894.

During the year ending with this date the accessions to the library have been as follows:

Bound volumes	297
Unbound volumes and pamphlets	688
	<hr/>
	985
War maps,—general atlases	29
County maps of New Hampshire	8
Bound volumes of newspapers	4

The library now contains 11,900 bound volumes.

BOOKS PURCHASED.

Oration by Roger Smith, at Mont Vernon, 1808	\$1.50
The Colonial Era, by George P. Fisher, D. D., 189283
The French War and the Revolution, by W. H. Sloane, 189383
Historical Essays, by Henry Adams, 1891	1.35
History of the United States, by Henry Adams (9 vols.), 1891	12.00
The Puritans in Holland, England and America, by Douglass Campbell, A. M. (2 vols.), 1893	3.75
Landmarks in Ancient Dover, N. H., by Miss Thompson, 1893	2.50
History of Chester, N. H., by J. Bailey Moore, 1893	2.00
Cruel Persecutions of the Protestants in France, by Narcysse Cyr, 1893	1.00
Allison Family, by Hon. L. A. Morrison, 1135-1893, 1893	3.75
Pittsfield in the Great Rebellion, by H. L. Robinson, 1893	1.40
	<hr/>
	\$30.91

BOOKS SOLD.

Provincial Papers, vols. II-III	\$9.65
Historical Collections—Farmer & Moore, vol. II	2.00
Provincial, Town, and State Papers, vols. I-XXIII	76.50
Historical Col.—N. H. Hist. Soc., vol. IX, bound	2.00
unbound	1.50
	<hr/>
	\$91.65

STATE REPORTS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

2 Insurance, 1893.	2 Railroads, 1893.
2 Ad. General's, 1893.	2 Treasurer's, 1893.
2 Banks, 1893.	2 Schools, 1893.
2 Coll. of Agriculture, 1893.	1 Insurance, 1894.

TOWN REPORTS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Reports received for the year ending March 1, 1894	224
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BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Presented by :

Rev. F. D. Ayer, D. D.,	62	Hon. Henry M. Baker,	14
Howard M. Cook, Esq.,	6	Hon. S. C. Eastman,	9
John P. George, Esq.,	25	Rev. S. L. Gerould,	27
Dr. S. A. Green,	20	J. C. A. Hill, Esq.,	10
Isaac Spalding, Esq.,	57	Hon. Ezra S. Stearns,	23
J. Whitmarsh, Esq.,	17	E. C. Eastman, Esq.,	12
George P. Cleaves,	8	Isaac K. Gage, Esq.,	5
Frank M. Hackett,	2	Edward D. Boylston,	2
W. Y. Evans,	1	F. S. Frisbie,	1
A. S. Batchellor,	1	Ira Witcher,	1
Henry M. Jackson,	1	L. D. Stevens,	1
Mrs. A. Cochrane,	1	Hetta M. Hervey,	1
W. Seward Webb,	2	Henry C. Blinn,	1
Dr. Charles E. Banks,	1	John Ward Dean, A. M.,	1
Charles B. Spofford,	1	Edward C. Mann, M. D.,	1
Mrs. Charles H. Bell,	1	Mrs. Enoch Gerrish,	1

206

110

316

The remaining 425 books and pamphlets have been received from historical societies, departments of government in Washington, and state reports of New Hampshire, Vermont, and New Jersey, and a very few from other sources.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

Presented by their publishers: *Granite Monthly*, Concord, N. H.; *New England Genealogical and Historical Register*, Boston; *The Manufacturer and Builder*, New York; *Manifesto*, by the Shakers, Canterbury, N. H.; *Notes and Queries*, by S. C. Gould, Manchester, N. H.; *Canaan Reporter*, Concord; *People and Patriot*, Contoocook; *Independent*, Exeter; *Gazette*, Franklin Falls; *Merrimack Journal*, Littleton; *Courier*, Hartford; *Travelers' Record*, Manchester; *Mirror and Farmer*, Plymouth; *Record*, Somersworth; *Free Press*, Woodsville; *Weekly News*; Boston *Daily Advertiser*, from Joseph B. Walker.

CHARLES L. TAPPAN,

Librarian.

On motion, the report was accepted and placed on file.



DEACON EDWARD D. BOLYSTON.

REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE.

To the Members of the New Hampshire Historical Society:

The Standing Committee at this time beg leave to submit for your consideration the following

REPORT.

1. One of the bounds of this Society's lot has been lost for many years and is so vaguely described in the deed conveying the same to the Society, as to require determination by agreement. Measurements have been made and no serious difficulty is anticipated in its establishment, when some representative of the Society has been appointed and authorized to adjust the same with Mr. John C. Thorne, the proprietor of the adjoining land. Your committee therefore recommend a reference of the subject, with full power, to a special committee of the Society.

2. Some seventeen years ago (April 14, 1877) Mr. Lorenzo Sabine, of Roxbury, Mass., and a native of Lisbon, N. H., died, leaving his very valuable library to this Society, subject to the life enjoyment of the same to his widow, Mrs. N. D. Sabine, now eighty-two years of age.

Not long after Mr. Sabine's death, Governor Bell, then President of this Society, and the present Chairman of your Standing Committee, visited the same and found it to consist of some five thousand volumes, of works largely historical, of fine editions and in good condition. As it seemed to be safely housed and well cared for, no action in relation to it seemed necessary other than to await the fulfilment of the condition upon which it had been given, by quietly leaving it in the possession of Mrs. Sabine in accordance with her husband's desire. Since this time it has been left with her, but has been kept insured to the amount of thirty-five hundred dollars, by this Society. It remains in Mr. Sabine's old home, a plain wooden house of two stories, numbered 105, on Mount Pleasant avenue, Roxbury, Mass.

This house is now occupied by a tenant, Mrs. Sabine having moved to Providence, R. I. As she apparently makes no use of the library, it occurs to your committee that possibly she might be willing to transfer it to this Society in her life time. Your committee therefore respectfully suggest that some representative of the Society be authorized to make fuller inquiries in regard to her wishes upon the subject and report to a future meeting of the Society.

3. During the past year three meetings only of the Society have been holden; the first and second being the regular annual meeting, and a special meeting, and the last, the field day meeting, at Hillsborough. Others were contemplated, but not brought about.

It has occurred to this Committee that, if regular quarterly meetings were holden, and a paper read at each by some member of the Society, to be afterwards discussed by those present, the general prosperity of the Society would be greatly promoted. Similar meetings have long been held by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, to the great benefit of those organizations.

J. B. WALKER,

For the Committee.

June 13, 1894.

The report was accepted, and

HON. JOSEPH B. WALKER,

HON. SAMUEL C. EASTMAN,

HON. ALBERT S. BATCHELLOR,

were appointed a committee, as suggested by the above report, to make further inquiries in regard to the Sabine library, with full power to act for the Society.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORATOR.

Hon. J. B. Walker, for the Committee, made report, that Hon. Edgar Aldrich had been selected as Orator for this meeting, but he had written the committee in May, that it would be impossible for him to be ready for the annual meeting, but that he would be ready in September next and that his subject would be, "Our Northern Boundary, The Indian Stream Government; and New Hampshire's War with Great Britain."

On motion of J. B. Walker,

Voted, That when this meeting adjourned, it be to meet again on September 12, 1894, the time designated by Judge Aldrich for the delivery of his address, at an hour and place to be selected by the Standing Committee.

On motion of C. L. Tappan,

Voted, That the President appoint a committee of three to establish the bounds of the Society's land, on which the library building stands.

The President appointed as such committee :

HON. JOHN KIMBALL,
HON. LYMAN D. STEVENS,
DEA. JOHN BALLARD.

On motion of Hon. J. C. A. Hill,

Voted, To resume the holding of quarterly meetings of the Society ; the first to be held on September 12, 1894.

THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION.

Last year the committee, through its Chairman, contracted with the John B. Clarke Co., for publishing five hundred copies of, "A List of Documents in the Public Record Office in London, England, relating to the Province of New Hampshire." It has not yet come from the press.

Part 3, Vol. II of the Proceedings of this Society has been published, 144 pp. It is ready for distribution. It contains,—

The Records of the meetings of the Society from June 10, 1891, to June 13, 1894.

Address, by Samuel C. Eastman: "Tendencies towards Socialism."

Address, by Maj. Otis F. R. Waite: "The Early History of the Town of Claremont."

Address, by Henry A. Hazen, D. D.: "New Hampshire and Vermont: An Historical Study."

Paper, by Hon. Chester B. Jordan: "Col. Joseph Whipple." Read by Hon. Albert S. Batchellor.

Address, by Hon. John J. Bell: "Studies which New Hampshire History Presents." The address was not delivered, owing to the illness of Mr. Bell, which resulted in his death; but has been printed by the consent of Mrs. Bell.

Address by Hon. Amos Hadley, "History of Hillsborough."

The manuscript for one volume of the Plumer Memoirs has gone to press, in accordance with the vote of the society of November 14, 1893.

C. L. TAPPAN,
For the Committee.

The report was accepted and placed on file.

The President presented the following communication from Hon. Henry M. Baker, United States Representative from the Second New Hampshire District :

Bow, N. H., Nov. 29, 1893.

Hon. Amos Hadley, Ph. D., President of the N. H. Historical Society :

MY DEAR SIR : I have the pleasure of presenting to the New Hampshire Historical Society, through you, the following topographical maps, viz.,

Belknap County,	dated	1859.
Carroll	" "	1860.
Cheshire	" "	1858.
Grafton	" "	1860.
Hillsborough County,	dated	1858.
Rockingham	" "	1857.
Strafford	" "	1856.
Sullivan	" "	1860.

And like maps of Middlesex and Worcester counties in Massachusetts, adjoining our state, and showing with the other maps the boundary between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and the roads from the one state to the other.

Also a map of New England, dated 1833, when there were only eight counties in our state.

The topographical maps show not only the mountains and streams, but roads, villages, and residences, in each town, and are even now of sufficient age to be of historical and legal value.

I hope some one will soon present the Society with similar maps of Coös and Merrimack counties, that it may have a full set of them.

Rejoicing in the success of the Society, I am,

Very truly yours,

HENRY M. BAKER.

On motion, a vote of thanks to the donor, Mr. Baker, was passed, and the Secretary instructed to communicate the same to that gentleman.

C. L. Tappan moved that Hon. Leonard A. Morrison be made a life member of the Society, on conditions named by him. The matter was referred to the Standing Committee,

with full power. (The Standing Committee decided unanimously in favor of the motion, July 10, 1894.)

Rev. N. F. Carter, from the Committee on the Nomination of Officers for the ensuing year, reported the following, and they were duly elected :

President.

Hon. AMOS HADLEY.

Vice-Presidents.

Hon. BENJAMIN A. KIMBALL,

Hon. GEORGE L. BALCOM.

Recording Secretary.

JOHN C. ORDWAY, Esq.

Corresponding Secretary.

Hon. SYLVESTER DANA.

Treasurer.

WILLIAM P. FISKE, Esq.

Librarian.

Rev. CHARLES L. TAPPAN.

Necrologist.

ELI E. GRAVES, M. D.

Auditor.

ISAAC K. GAGE, Esq.

Standing Committee.

Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER,

J. C. A. HILL, Esq.,

Gen. HOWARD L. PORTER.

Library Committee.

Hon. A. S. BATCHELLOR,

Rev. NATHAN F. CARTER,

Col. J. E. PECKER.

Publishing Committee.

REV. CHARLES L. TAPPAN,
JOHN C. ORDWAY, Esq.,
HON. ALBERT S. WAIT.

Hon. Ezra S. Stearns, Rev. N. F. Carter, and Hon. A. S. Batchellor were appointed, by the President, a Committee on Papers.

Charles L. Tappan, for the Committee on New Members, recommended the following named gentlemen, who were duly elected :

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Stephen S. Jewett, Laconia ; Erastus P. Jewell, Laconia ; Edgar Aldrich, Littleton ; Irving W. Drew, Lancaster ; Charles A. Busiel, Laconia ; John Dowst, Manchester ; George A. Ramsdell, Nashua ; Fletcher Ladd, Lancaster ; Charles E. Foote, Penacook ; Farwell P. Holden, Penacook ; Edmund H. Brown, Penacook ; Marvin D. Bisbee, Hanover ; James F. Colby, Hanover ; John K. Lord, Hanover ; Gabriel Campbell, Hanover ; William J. Tucker, Hanover.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

Rev. J. G. McMurphy, Racine, Wis.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Rev. William Copley Winslow, D. C. L., LL. D., Boston, Mass. ; Prof. Marshall S. Snow, St. Louis, Mo.

Hon. Joseph B. Walker, first named by the Committee for Necrologist, declined to serve, and Dr. Graves, of Boscawen, was elected to that office, as per list before recorded.

Col. J. E. Pecker moved that a Field-Day meeting be held at Franklin, the date to be fixed by the President. Carried ; and Col. J. E. Pecker and Isaac K. Gage, Esq., were appointed a committee on said Field-Day.

Hon. Albert S. Wait made a verbal report on the subject of a Naval History of New Hampshire, which was accepted, and

the same committee on that matter was continued for another year.

The subject of a catalogue of the Society's Library was introduced by S. C. Gould, Esq., of Manchester, and was discussed by several members for and against the card system, after which, on motion of Hon. Albert S. Wait, of Newport, a committee of three was appointed to consider the matter and report to the Society. The President named,—

Hon. ALBERT S. WAIT,
Hon. SAMUEL C. EASTMAN,
Rev. NATHAN F. CARTER.

On motion of Hon. Joseph B. Walker, the annual assessment for the present year was fixed at \$3.00.

Voted, That regular meetings of the Library Committee be held monthly, and that the Librarian notify the members.

Voted, To adjourn, to meet again at the call of the President.

P. B. COGSWELL,

Secretary pro tem.

A true copy.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,

Recording Secretary.

FIRST ADJOURNED SEVENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

The quarterly and first adjourned seventy-second annual meeting of this society was held in the society's rooms in Concord, Wednesday, September 12, 1894, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. President Hadley in the chair.

The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

On motion of Hon. Joseph B. Walker,

Voted, That the limit of the fund to provide for the salary of the librarian be advanced to twenty thousand dollars; and that

the treasurer be authorized to apply the yearly balance to the permanent fund for that purpose.

The report of the Committee on the Sabine Library was presented by its chairman, J. B. Walker, including the correspondence with Mrs. Sabine. The report was as follows:

The Committee on the Sabine Library, having attended to the duty assigned them, respectfully report:

1. That on the 22d day of August, ult., they addressed to Mrs. E. M. D. Sabine, widow of the late Lorenzo Sabine, a letter, of which the accompanying paper, marked I., is a copy.

2. That they subsequently received from Mrs. Sabine, in answer, the accompanying paper, marked II.

3. That on the 5th day of September, inst., the committee made reply to Mrs. Sabine, a copy of which is herewith submitted, marked III.

Respectfully submitted,

J. B. WALKER,

For the Committee.

Concord, N. H., Sept. 12, 1894.

I.

CONCORD, N. H., August 22, 1894.

Mrs. E. M. D. Sabine, No. 5 Mt. Pleasant St., Roxbury, Mass.

DEAR MADAM: By an instrument which you doubtless remember, dated October 12, 1878, your daughters, Matilda Green McLaren and Abby Deering Sabine, perfected your husband's intention by a conveyance to the New Hampshire Historical Society of their interest in his library, subject to your life enjoyment of the same.

Learning that you no longer occupy the house in which the library is stored, and thinking that the care of it might be one of which you might desire to be relieved, the society would make known to you its willingness to accept the same at an earlier date than contemplated, should you desire to divest yourself of the responsibility of its custody. At the same time, it assures you that it would not be willing to do so, unless such should be your wish.

Sincerely yours,

J. B. WALKER,

For the Committee.

II.

BANGOR, 28 August, 1894.

Mr. Walker.

DEAR SIR: The letter from the Committee of the Historical Society has been forwarded here, where at present I am visiting, or an earlier reply you would have had from the letter. It is my desire to retain my husband's library awhile longer, I will not say till I lay down mortality, for there may arise circumstances, unforeseen at the present time, wherein I shall deem it my duty as well as pleasure, to hand it over to the society.

At the present time the library has excellent care, from the family who are occupants of my house. I am often in Roxbury, so have frequent opportunities of seeing all is right as regards the books, which I do not fail to examine. Also I claim the privilege of taking a book for my especial reading, never failing of restoring it, in its proper place. The fear of fire has been removed, I formerly entertained; in the taking away of a barn, belonging to the next estate.

Will thank the committee, wishing to relieve me of the care and responsibility. But the library is very dear to me, so intimately connected with my dear husband. Before I close, a word concerning Mr. Sabine's papers which he wished to go with the library. I carefully packed them away in two separate chests. The Historical Society at Concord can have them at any time they wish. At Portland, Maine, the Historical Society are very anxious to have the papers of "Gen. Knox," which my husband carefully copied. I refused, not having any authority in the disposition of any paper; leaving it to the New Hampshire Historical Society to do as they may think best.

Most respectfully yours,

E. M. D. SABINE.

III.

CONCORD, N. H., September 5, 1894.

Mrs. E. M. D. Sabine.

DEAR MADAM: Yours of the 28th ult. has been received, and I would say in reply that the New Hampshire Historical Society will be happy to receive the papers of Mr. Sabine to which you allude, whenever it may be convenient for you to send them. When received, they will be carefully arranged for consultation,

and kept for the benefit of historical students, who may have occasion to examine them.

With kindest regards, I am

Very respectfully yours,

J. B. WALKER,

For the Committee.

On motion of Hon. Ezra S. Stearns,

Voted, That the committee be further authorized to receive the library and receipt for the same whenever it may become the property of the society in accordance with the conditions specified.

Hon. George L. Balcom spoke of a proposed gift of an ancient bass-viol (*Laus Deo*) by James H. Bingham's family; and the same was, by vote of the society, accepted.

Charles L. Tappan, for the committee to nominate new members, reported the following list of names for membership:

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Arthur Fitts Wheat, M. D., Manchester; Herman Jacoby Achard, M. D., Manchester; Charles Libby Harmon, Manchester; Benjamin Henry Corning, Littleton; George Farr, Littleton; William D. Sawyer, Dover; William Tutherly, Concord.

The report was accepted; and the persons named were elected in due form.

Hon. Joseph B. Walker presented the following communication from Hon. Samuel C. Eastman, at his request:

CONCORD, N. H., Sept. 7, 1894.

To the President and Members of the New Hampshire Historical Society:

I regret very much that I cannot be present at the meeting to be held on Wednesday, in consequence of a previous professional engagement, which I cannot postpone.

There is one matter that I desire to call to the attention of the society, and I take the liberty to do it in this form.

At the meeting of the society held some time ago, which I was obliged to leave before final action was taken, it was voted to

publish the Plumer Memoirs in full, arranging them in alphabetical form. Many of these memoirs are of men whose lives appear in various biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias in substantial fullness, some of them even in more detail than are to be found in the Plumer sketches. Such books as Appleton's Encyclopedia and Appleton's Biographical Encyclopedia contain a great many sketches of the individuals whose lives are noted by Mr. Plumer. It would seem that it was hardly necessary or advisable for our society to go to the expense of printing duplicates of information that can already be obtained elsewhere.

I, therefore, suggest that the vote directing the publication of these memoirs be so far modified that the publication committee be requested to leave out all biographies that are to be found in works of the class indicated, or in other books readily and generally accessible, unless the Plumer sketches contain something of importance not found in others. I think that, by so doing, the size of the volumes will be very much reduced and the funds of the society correspondingly relieved from an unnecessary burden.

I think it will also be found, on careful examination, that the "Plumer Memoirs" contain some errors which could be easily corrected. It may not be desirable to change the text of Mr. Plumer's work, but it would certainly be better to correct any mistakes into which he has fallen, by a foot note, than to allow people to be drawn into errors by publishing them without any suggestions to the contrary.

Truly yours,

SAMUEL C. EASTMAN.

After a discussion of the subject, in which Hon. J. B. Walker, Hon. E. S. Stearns, Rev. C. L. Tappan, and Rev. Alfred L. Elwin participated, the communication was referred to a special committee of three, to report at the next quarterly meeting; and the chair appointed as such committee:

HON. SAMUEL C. EASTMAN,
JOHN C. ORDWAY, ESQ.,
HON. EZRA S. STEARNS.

President Hadley announced the death of Isaac K. Gage, Esq., of Penacook, for many years an honored and useful member of this Society; and offered the following resolution, which was passed unanimously:

Resolved, That we are deeply saddened by the death of Isaac K. Gage, whose diligent attendance and effective service in various capacities, have been so useful to our Society; and, that a copy of this resolution be transmitted, in condolence, to the family of the deceased.

On motion,

Voted, That a recess be taken, and that the Society meet again at half past one o'clock this afternoon, in the senate chamber at the state capitol.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Society re-convened in the senate chamber at the state house, at half past one o'clock, p. m., and listened to an address delivered by Hon. Edgar Aldrich, judge of the United States District Court, the subject being,—“Our Northern Boundary. The Provisional Government of the Indian Stream Territory, 1832-'35—New Hampshire's military occupation of the territory north of the 45th degree of north latitude and west of the Connecticut river and lakes, in aid of the civil authorities of the state, and as against Canada, 1835-'36.”

JUDGE ALDRICH'S ADDRESS.

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: Over the golden entrance to one of the noblest structures of the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893,—the structure which contained exhibits of the means devised for the transfer of people and goods of commerce quickly and cheaply from one section of our country to another and from one part of the world to another,—was prominently displayed the great truth and incentive idea which has obtained in all civilized countries from the earliest times, clothed by the language of Bacon in the following words: “There be three things which make a nation great and prosperous,—a fertile soil, busy workshops, and easy conveyance for man and goods from place to place,” as well as the same idea expressed by Macaulay in the following language: “Of all inventions, the alphabet and the printing-press alone excepted, those inventions which abridge distance have done most for civilization.”

The nations of the world recognizing the necessity of intercourse among the people, and trade and commerce among

themselves and other nations, have ever contended for rights of navigation upon the seas, and for mastery of the lakes and rivers. The march of early civilization was across the oceans and up the great water ways. Before the introduction of railroads, the nations looked to the natural waters and artificial canals as the only means for shortening distance, and as the only highways rendering travel and commerce less difficult than the slow and cumbersome movements over the earth. Free intercourse among the people, free interchange of thought, and enlarged and liberal commerce are necessities of civilization; indeed such conditions were recognized as necessarily incident to existence among the ruder nations before enlightened government was much known. The short, swift streams leading from the Babylonian country to the Mediterranean, thousands of years before the Christian era, became highways to float the heavy cedars of Lebanon to the ocean, to be worked into crafts whereby the seas should be better known and navigated.

Carthage holding maritime supremacy, and having among her people the most courageous seamen in all the world, throttled and seriously staggered Rome, which had gained the greatest power and supremacy perhaps of any nation on the land, and Rome, quickly learning the lesson from necessity and adopting the Carthaginian vessels as models, constructed powerful navies, and in turn overwhelmed and crushed Carthage. In the present day Russia, through diplomacy and through exhibitions of warlike power, is ever pushing for an outlet to the seas.

All nations adopting this maritime policy as a necessity have broadened it so as to protect so far as may be the lakes and rivers within their borders, and to secure free and open access to the rivers and lakes which become the boundaries between themselves and other countries.

The Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris in September, 1783, describes a line between this country and Great Britain, which from a point where the forty-fifth degree of north latitude "strikes the River Iroquois or Cataraquy;" runs westerly "thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communica-

tion by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isles Royal and Phelipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most north-western point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the River Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said River Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of North latitude," thus securing to our country free occupation of one half of the Great Lakes and rivers with all the resultant military advantage, as well as economic and commercial equality with Canada. If we had time and space, it would be interesting to inquire why in going easterly from the forty-fifth degree of north latitude the boundary line should have abruptly left the St. Lawrence, running thence to the waters of the Connecticut river and the Highlands and the St. Croix river to Nova Scotia, leaving the St. Lawrence to broaden and flow on to the ocean exclusively within His Majesty's possessions.

Previous to the treaty between the French and Great Britain in 1763, whereby the latter acquired Canada, New England and Nova Scotia, as well, extended to the southerly shore of the St. Lawrence river. In October of the same year, a royal proclamation establishing the Province of Quebec, extended the province southerly including the valley south of the St. Lawrence, making the Highlands which separated the rivers running to the north or north-east into the St. Lawrence from those running to the south and south-east, the southerly boundary of such province.

A map on which these highlands were set out was made by John Mitchell under the direction of the Lords Commissioners

of Trade and Plantations in 1775. It is quite reasonable to suppose that this map or a copy thereof, was before the treaty-making powers of 1783, and that the Highlands established as the southerly boundary of the Province of Quebec by the royal proclamation of October 7, 1763, were intended to be adopted as the northerly line of Massachusetts, which then included Maine, and that running on such highlands the boundary was to come from thence to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river.

While we do not complain and cannot hope to change what seems to be an unnatural and arbitrary boundary, no American can trace the line through these great inland seas down the St. Lawrence, through wonderful Niagara to the forty-fifth parallel, thence through the unbroken wilderness towards the Atlantic ocean, leaving to the far north the lower portion of the St. Lawrence, the noblest river of the continent, without a feeling of sadness. But when we consider that the great minds which created and upheld the American Revolution, recognizing the importance of the St. Lawrence as a boundary, sent, without success, their most important and influential statesmen as emissaries or commissioners to create in what were known as the French provinces a sentiment which should promote coöperation with the American colonies, and if not that, to persuade them to remain neutral during the struggle, we must treat it as conclusively established that there was no sentiment in the provinces or any sufficient reason to justify a demand on the part of the American treaty-making power in making a claim that the boundary should be thrown to the St. Lawrence.

Franklin, Chase, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, all leading congressmen, the latter of whom being by special resolution of congress "solicited to engage his brother, an ex-Jesuit, to accompany the delegation and exert his influence as a priestly Republican upon the Catholic clergy," visited these provinces early in 1775 for the purpose of making known to them the means of assuring their own independence.

Garneau, in his history of Canada, says that "while Franklin was working his way as a civil diplomatist, Father Carroll visited a number of the clergy in Montreal and the country places; his success with them was yet less than that of Frank-

lin with the laity." This mission failing, the colonies were left to make the struggle alone, and having established their independence, it could hardly be expected that Knox and Lincoln, John Adams, Franklin and Jay, having to do with the treaty, could, with any show of reason, insist upon including the territory of the lower St. Lawrence. We must, therefore, not cast reproach upon these great actors, but praise and revere them for the great results which they accomplished. We must also credit them with mental reservation and hope in this respect, from the fact that in November, 1777, when the Articles of Confederation were drafted, it was expressly provided by Article XI that "Canada acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into and entitled to all the advantages of this union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine states."

The north-eastern boundary of the state of Maine was in dispute and in controversy, which involved preparation for war a little later than the time of the Indian Stream incident to which this address is to be directed.

The treaty of 1783, which is known as the treaty of Peace, described that part of the boundary of the United States known as the north-eastern boundary as "from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, viz., that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river to the Highlands: along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river, to the forty-fifth degree of North latitude; from thence, by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the River Iroquois or Cataraquy; etc."

The boundary which we now speak of as the north-eastern boundary of Maine became at an early day subject to dispute, first as to the river St. Croix, then as to which tributary was the source of that river, then as to the islands in Passamaquoddy bay, then as to the north-western angle of Nova Scotia and the highlands that divide the rivers that fall into the Atlan-

tic ocean from those which empty themselves into the St. Lawrence.

Without giving much time to what is known as the Maine dispute, and passing the controversy as to the river St. Croix and all disputes as to the intermediate calls, it would seem plain that the highlands between the St. Lawrence and the St. John's river were plainly intended by the treaty,—and in view of the fact that the government of the United States had, as early as 1803, so far recognized the great national policy of extending its borders to the oceans and rivers as to procure the colony or province of Louisiana together with all the islands belonging to such province, and in 1819 all the territory belonging to Spain east of the Mississippi, known as East and West Florida, with adjacent islands,—it is not easy to appreciate the argument which induced Mr. Webster to relinquish the boundary known as the Highlands between the rivers which empty themselves into the St. Lawrence from those which flow into the Atlantic ocean, and to adopt the St. John's river as the north-eastern limit of the United States and the state of Maine. This provision of the treaty made in 1842 was the subject of severe attack in the United States senate, led by that bold, energetic, aggressive, and truly American statesman, Thomas H. Benton, senator from Missouri, and has been the subject of much discussion among the loyal sons of Maine.

Gov. Israel Washburn, Jr., who prepared and read before the Maine Historical society at Portland, in 1879, an able and exhaustive paper on the northeastern boundary, began his address by saying: "I shall read you, this morning, a chapter of concessions, submissions, and humiliations by which the otherwise fair record of American diplomacy has been dimmed and stained." He spoke of the Webster-Ashburton treaty as a work of which the indulgent criticism of the most friendly commentator might be borrowed from Sheridan, who, speaking of another convention, said: "It was one of which, although some were glad, nobody was proud."

While we may properly refer to this severe criticism upon America's greatest statesman, and concede that it is directed to a concession which is not easily understood, we must not omit

to call attention to what was claimed to be the establishment of important rights in the channels of the St. Lawrence, secured through article 7 of what is known as the Webster-Ashburton treaty, wherein it is provided that the channels in the river St. Lawrence on both sides of the Long Sault islands and of Barnhart island, as well as the channels in the rivers Detroit and St. Clair on both sides of the islands, etc., shall be equally free and open to the ships, vessels, and boats of both parties.

We must also remind the historians of Maine that if their state through these negotiations lost a little through Lord Ashburton's diplomacy, that Webster, at least, held his own in respect to the boundary upon the Connecticut waters which was the northern boundary of New Hampshire.

We must also recall that at this time our boundaries were ill defined and little understood, except where they were formed by the gulf, the ocean, and the river St. Lawrence; and that this controversy extended to the northwest, and that the treaty was a compromise in which each party at various points yielded some part of their claim rather than push to the extremity of war. It must likewise be stated that Mr. Theodore Roosevelt in his life of Benton in the American Statesmen Series, does not accord Mr. Benton much general praise for his furious attack upon the boundary provision of the treaty of 1842. He does, however, credit Mr. Benton with more defensible ground in respect to his attack on that part of the treaty which defined the northeastern boundary of Maine.

Referring again and more directly to that provision of the treaty of 1783, which was intended to establish the northern boundary of New Hampshire and of the United States on the waters of the Connecticut, we find that a line was adopted as the northeasterly boundary of the United States and of what was then Massachusetts, running "along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean," and that the boundary described proceeded on such highlands "to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude."



INDIAN STREAM AND THE ADJACENT TERRITORY.

It may not be out of place to look somewhat to the information possessed by the treaty-making powers with respect to the wild and little-known country between the settled portions of the colonies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire and the St. Lawrence, and to the motive which impelled Great Britain to insist upon breaking away from the St. Lawrence at the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, thus making a divergent line which would bring the boundary easterly to the Connecticut river.

Generals Knox and Lincoln in their reports refer to Mitchell's map, which was used by the commissioners while the treaty was under consideration. There is also a reference to the same map in a letter from John Adams to Governor Cushing written from Auteuil, near Paris, October 25, 1784. This letter was written by Mr. Adams after the northeasterly bound of Massachusetts was drawn into controversy, and while certain measures with respect thereto were pending before the general court of Massachusetts, and in this letter Mr. Adams says: "We had before us, through the whole negotiation, several maps, but it was Mitchell's map upon which we marked out the whole of the boundary lines of the United States." Dr. Franklin says in a letter written to Mr. Jefferson in 1790, "I can assure you that I am perfectly clear in the remembrance that the map we used in tracing the boundary was brought to the treaty by the commissioners from England, and that it was the same as that published by Mitchell twenty years before."

It appears by the affidavit of Surveyor Mitchell, made October 9, 1784, that he was an inhabitant of Chester in the state of New Hampshire, and that in 1764 he was employed by Francis Bernard, Esq., governor of the province of Massachusetts Bay, to proceed, with Israel Jones as his deputy, and with Nathaniel Jones as commanding officer of a party of troops, and Captain Fletcher as Indian interpreter, to the bay of Passamaquoddy, and there assemble the Indians usually residing there, and from them to ascertain the river known as the St. Croix. It also appears that he made plans of the territory, giving prominence, quite likely, to the river St. Croix, which was the particular river to be ascertained and located. But it

is quite reasonable to suppose that the plan reported contained not only the St. Croix but the other important rivers running down from the Highlands, and he being a New Hampshire man, that the Connecticut river was also indicated with its general course from the Highlands through Massachusetts.

It will be observed that all of the great rivers of the northeasterly portion of the Massachusetts colony, now Maine, such as the Penobscot, the Kennebec, and the Androscoggin, have their source in that territory and flow into the ocean within her own borders, the Androscoggin flowing through New Hampshire for a short distance, while the Connecticut river flowing from the Highlands of the north to the ocean, divides New Hampshire from what is now Vermont, and Massachusetts and Connecticut nearly in the middle.

It is safe to assume that Great Britain having in mind the governmental importance of these great water ways, both in a military and a commercial sense, and looking to the great natural highways of the Massachusetts colony, and to the Connecticut river as a great inter-colonial highway, concluded that next in importance to holding the territory was the strategic and commercial advantage to result from the establishment of her boundaries on the head waters of the great rivers, which were then looked upon as the only ways or means for shortening distance, aiding commerce between the countries, and of facilitating military operations in case of war. Great Britain, recalling the then recent expedition of Arnold up the Kennebec, across the highlands that divide the Kennebec from the Chaudiere, and down that stream to the St. Lawrence and the resultant surprise at Quebec, preferred to hold these positions of military menace, and was not easily inclined to accord them to the United States.

Mr. John Fiske in his book on the critical period of American history, speaking of the controversies under this treaty, says: "Franklin's suggestion of a cession of Canada and Nova Scotia was abandoned without discussion," and that after agreeing where the boundary should go, that Oswald marked in red ink the line upon one of Mitchell's maps of North America to serve as a memorandum establishing the precise meaning of the words used in the description, and that when

it was discovered from later surveys that the language relating to the northeastern portion of the boundary contained inaccuracies, it was found that the map used by Oswald was lost.

I am not able to say with any certainty just when the dispute arising upon the Connecticut waters began. It is probable, however, that the provision of the treaty describing the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river became a subject of discussion which rendered the boundary one of uncertainty before 1800. The authorities of New Hampshire, with somewhat doubtful confidence, claiming Hall stream to be the waters intended, while the authorities of Canada and Great Britain maintained with greater confidence, perhaps, that the main river running from what is now known as the third Connecticut lake through the second and first lake, and so on until it intersects the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, was the water called for by the treaty. This dispute involved about one twelfth of the territory of what is now the county of Coös.

Emptying into the Connecticut river from the north, at a point about midway between the claims of the two parties, was a stream known as the Indian Stream, and the disputed tract soon became known as the "Indian Stream Territory."

The American view is supposed to have been based upon the fact that the waters of Hall stream were the most north-western waters of the Connecticut, while the Canadian and British view was that the term north-westernmost should be read in connection with the other words which call for the head of the Connecticut river, and that as the waters of the Hall stream were not denominated as a river, and as the treaty described a course from the head of Connecticut river down its middle to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, that their claim was established.

A discussion of the reasonableness of the two claims with respect to the construction of this part of the treaty would not be useful for the reason that this paper is intended to present somewhat the history of the Indian Stream affair, rather than to demonstrate which position was right as a matter of strict and original construction.

I have not found in such research as I have been able to make documentary evidence which establishes with definiteness whether the parties using the term "to the north-westernmost

head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of North latitude" actually intended to adopt Hall stream as the river in fact laid upon maps before the treaty-making powers of 1783, or the Connecticut river having its source in the Third lake, which is further north and east than the waters of Hall stream; nor have I found sufficient data from which to trace the growth of the controversy prior to 1814.

It is perhaps sufficient, however, for the purposes of this paper to note that the controversy had become so far international, and the true bound so far considered uncertain, that, at the close of the War of 1812, in the treaty known as the Treaty of Peace and Amity adopted at Ghent on the 24th day of December, 1814, it was recited in Article 5 that, "whereas neither that point of the Highlands lying due north from the source of the River St. Croix, and designated in the former treaty of peace between the two Powers as the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, nor the north-westernmost head of Connecticut River, has yet been ascertained; and whereas that part of the boundary line between the dominions of the two Powers which extends from the source of the River St. Croix directly north to the above mentioned north-west angle of Nova Scotia, thence along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut River, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of North latitude; thence by line due west on said latitude until it strikes the River Iroquois or Cataraguay, has not yet been surveyed." Following this recital in the same article of the treaty, it is provided that commissioners shall be appointed for the purpose of ascertaining and making a map of the disputed territory, and that the boundaries ascertained and indicated thereon, particularizing the latitude and longitude of the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river, and such other points of the boundary as the commissioners may deem proper, shall be considered as finally and conclusively fixing the bound. It is not understood, however, that any work was done upon the ground by the com-



THE BOUNDARY POST.

missioners under the treaty of 1814 which threw any light upon the dispute as to the head waters of the Connecticut.

According to Coolidge and Mansfield's brief but excellent account of the Indian Stream affair, published in their history and description of New England in 1860, the settlement in the Indian Stream territory began about 1810.

The disputed territory included broad and fertile acres, and the settlement increased rapidly in view of the remoteness of the region, many of the settlers being attracted by the broad meadows of Indian stream, some, perhaps, by the excitement incident to a controversy of this character, others prompted by a desire to maintain a boundary believed to be right, and others still wishing to avoid the burdens and responsibilities incident to regular government. So it may be assumed that this settlement in 1830 embraced a people possessed of courage, energy, and intelligence sufficient to maintain all the rights which to them belonged.

The treaty-making powers, having proclaimed the uncertainty and dispute as to the bound upon the Connecticut waters, and the governments of the two countries remaining inactive in respect to ascertaining and establishing the true line, this frontier controversy became locally intense, and when we consider that it promoted military occupation of the disputed territory by the state of New Hampshire, and subsequent international negotiations which saved to New Hampshire and the United States intact the valuable lakes and upper waters of this great interstate highway, the controversy is not without general interest.

As the controversy progressed, some were loyal to New Hampshire, others tiring of the lame and ineffectual assertion of jurisdiction by New Hampshire, favored an independent government, while others stoutly maintained the Canadian view.

For their title, they relied mainly on that descending from Philip, chief of the St. Francis tribe, who, lingering upon the upper waters of the Connecticut in his old age, still insisted that all the lands between the Connecticut and the Ammonoosuc, the Peumpelussuck or Dead river, the Androscoggin, Umbagog lakes with islands, extending northerly into the St. Francis river region, and from thence on waters and carrying places to the Connecticut, belonged to him and his people.

But yielding to what he believed to be the inevitable, he released whatever rights he may have had forever "with the following conditions and reservations, namely, that I reserve free liberty to hunt all sorts of wild game on any of the fore-going territories, and taking fish in any of the waters thereof for myself, my heirs and sucksesors, and all Indian tribes forever, also liberty of planting four bushels of corn and beans; and this my trusty friend Thomas (Thomas Eames of Northumberland) having given me security to furnish me and my squaw with provisions and suitable clothing which I have accepted in full. I have for myself, and in behalf of all Indians who hunted on or inhabited any of the foregoing lands or waters forever, quitclaimed and sold as aforesaid to them, the said Thomas, John, Jonathan, and Nathan as a good estate in feesimple, and do covenant with them that myself and my ancient fathers forever and at all times have been in possession of the above described premises, and that I have a good right to and will warrant and defend," etc. This deed was executed on the 30th of June, 1796.

Among the recitals in the early part of the deed is the following: "Know ye that I, Philip an Indian and native of America, now resident in upper Coös and chief thereof," etc. It is signed Philip, Indian Chief, by his mark and seal; by Molley Messell, by her mark and seal; and by Mooseleck Susop, by her mark and seal, and was received and recorded in the Grafton county registry on the 22d of November, 1796, and a copy thereof is published in full in an appendix to the second edition of the Rev. Grant Power's historical sketches of the discovery, settlement, and progress of events in the Coös country.

With this deed the St. Francis tribe yielded all their rights, except the right to plant a little corn and to fish and hunt, a few only lingering for that purpose. Metallak, the son of a chief, "the last of his race within our present boundaries, the last hunter of the ancient Cooash-aukes," dying at Stewartstown about 1850, where in the little cemetery at West Stewartstown his ashes rest apart from his ancestors and the people he loved. The story of Metallak is interestingly and touchingly told by Col. Henry O. Kent in his paper on the resources, attractions,

and traditions of the Coös country published in a recent history of Coös county.

Contrary to the settlement of a similar question in Rhode Island, New Hampshire repudiated the Indian title.

The legislature of 1824, upon the report of a committee, asserted its title to the Indian Stream territory, but protected actual bona-fide settlers by what is known as the quieting act, which operated to establish the title in the actual settlers with certain limitations as to quantity of land claimed, and in 1840 Chief Justice Parker in *Bedel v. Loomis*, 11 New Hampshire 9, 15, affirmed this view as to the title of the state, adopting the theory that in absence of subsequent grant that the title referred back to the time of the separation of this country from Great Britain.

At an early date some of the settlers in this territory either claiming that it belonged to neither country, or that it belonged to the Dominion of Canada, resisted the process of the state of New Hampshire, and in 1820 the legislature of New Hampshire by resolution directed the attorney-general to proceed against such parties as resisted her authorities. The destruction of the court records of Coös county by a recent fire removes all authentic and reliable information as to what was done under this resolution. But the resolution itself is of historic importance in this respect, that it signifies clearly the intention of New Hampshire to maintain her jurisdiction over the territory westerly and northerly to Hall stream.

The British and American commissioners acting under the provisions of the treaty of 1814, to which I have referred, made an attempt in 1819, by joint action to ascertain and establish the boundary between Canada and New Hampshire, but failed to agree, the American commissioners insisting upon what was known as the Eames survey and Hall stream as the boundary intended by the treaty of 1783, while the British commissioners contended for lines according to the British construction.

In the convention of 1827 all controversies relating to the north-eastern boundary which, of course, included the boundary of Maine, as well as New Hampshire, were referred to the king of the Netherlands who adopted "the head of the Connecticut" as the waters intended by the original treaty, the

effect of which would throw the disputed territory into Canada. This result was, of course, unsatisfactory to New Hampshire, and as the award in this respect as well as in respect to the Maine boundary was rejected by the United States, the question was left for further controversy.

It is true that whenever New Hampshire acted she consistently adhered to Hall's stream as the true boundary line, but it must be conceded that her exercise of jurisdiction prior to 1834-'35 was inefficient and ineffectual, and the people of the disputed territory, being subjected to New Hampshire process, and to assertion of jurisdiction and service of process from the Canadian side as well, became restless under the annoyances and uncertainties resulting from such conditions, and determined to organize and establish a government of their own.

It is stated in the history of Coös county, to which I have referred, and which was published in 1888 by W. A. Fergusson & Co. of Syracuse, that "it is evident from the names of the councillors of Indian Stream that up to this period many of the people had only intended to keep a neutral position, and really considered themselves under no jurisdiction, save that of their own laws until the boundary question should be decided, and they allotted to New Hampshire or Canada," and that the government of Indian Stream "was to prevent disorder and anarchy, not to cause it."

Beyond question this government was designed as a provisional government, and at its inception was intended to be effectual only until such time as the international dispute should be settled.

The original book of records of the Indian Stream government, now in my possession, and which I now pass to the New Hampshire Historical Society for safe keeping, describes the government and the action of the various branches thereof under the constitution of the Indian Stream territory adopted July 9, 1832.

If it should be said after inspection that the form of government closely resembles the federal and state governments, it may be said in return that the federal and state governments embraced the ideas of government set forth by Aristotle of

old, as the essentials of all governments possessing a proper division of powers.

The preamble to the constitution sets forth that "whereas we, the inhabitants of the tract of land situated between Hall's Stream and the stream issuing from Lake Connecticut being the disputed tract of country near the head of Connecticut River which is claimed by the United States and Great Britain respectively, and generally known by the name of Indian Stream . . . are deprived of the protection of the laws of any government but that of our own until such time as the boundary line between the two governments shall be established, and the time in which that will take place is to us unknown, and whereas it is our ardent desire to live in peace, harmony and good order and considering that these great and good objects cannot be fully enjoyed without some wholesome rules, regulations, or code of laws, and considering it the unalienable right of all people situated as we are wherever in the course of Providence their lot is cast and a privilege which they are in duty bound to improve to strive by all laudable means to take and adopt such measures as shall be best calculated to promote peace and good order in society among themselves while in their present state, as well as to prepare them for useful citizens should they hereafter become a constituent part of some other government, and whereas it has been the custom of the inhabitants of this place to meet from time to time and pass such votes and by-laws as they deem necessary for their regulation and support of order without annexing penalties to enforce them, and as the population and improvements have considerably increased, and considering the great importance of making provision for the benefit of the rising generation, of adopting and enforcing laws on a more permanent basis for the support of schools and other public improvements and maintaining and supporting good order in society. And believing the time has now arrived when we must as a body politick make and enforce laws sufficient to protect and defend the different members of the community, and redress grievances, and adjust the disputes and controversies, which occasionally arise among them, or they will assume the rights of individually redressing their own grievances and avenging their own injuries; . . .

We believe that if the different members of society are permitted to become their own avengers, they would commit great injustice and become aggressors, that retaliation would produce fresh injuries and call into action the worst passions of the heart, which would throw our society into a state of anarchy and confusion which would destroy all the peace, happiness, and pleasant prospects we have heretofore enjoyed. Therefore, we, the inhabitants of Indian Stream Territory being assembled in general meeting, and having considered our situation and circumstances with all the impartiality and candor which we are capable of exercising, feel a full conviction that under present existing circumstances we cannot apply to any government for protection with any probability of success. But by the agreement between the United States and Great Britain that neither party should exercise jurisdiction over the disputed territory we are left to our own resources for preserving order in society without any probability of receiving any assistance from either government, or any change in our circumstances till the boundary line is established. We, therefore, believe that while it is unknown to what government we owe allegiance, we possess full right, and imperative necessity requires, that we should adopt some form of government which will secure the rights, happiness and prosperity of the people who inhabit this territory, and feel confident by so doing we shall promote the interest and secure the approbation of the government to which we shall eventually belong,—Therefore, resolved that to preserve union among ourselves, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for our common security and defense, and secure the important blessings of civilized society, we do ordain and establish this constitution, and the principles of government therein contained for our future guide and direction in forming and enforcing laws for the government of the territory of Indian Stream."

The preamble, which I have recited, establishes with sufficient historical certainty that the inertness, if not the suspension of the claims of the two countries, rendered some local government necessary, and that individual opinions with respect to the dispute between the two governments were wisely subordinated for the time being.

The purposes of this paper do not justify me in resorting to details which relate to the opinions of individuals or factions which held and expressed views relating to this dispute. I must, therefore, content myself with some general observations upon the more prominent events connected with the provisional government and to the action of the stronger governments pending hostilities and the negotiations, which led to peace and the final establishment of a boundary which included the Indian Stream country within the borders of New Hampshire and the United States.

The constitution to which I have referred was divided into two parts; part 1 being a Bill of Rights, and to the 13th Article I wish to call special attention, as it declares the right of independent local government in view of the conditions resulting from the inactive and unsettled policies of Great Britain and the United States.

This article declares that "man being originally formed by his Creator for society and social intercourse, and for mutually aiding, assisting, and defending each other, and promoting their welfare and happiness, * * * all societies of men placed by circumstances of fortune without the jurisdiction or control of any other society or government have a right to unite together, and institute such government for the regulation of their society as they deem most conducive to the general good, and where a large majority of the people so situated, unite together and establish a government, the minority of right ought to submit to the majority and be controlled by them."

Part 2 of the constitution describes the form of government, the supreme legislative power to be vested in a council and assembly to meet on the 2nd Monday in March of each year, and at such other times as the council might judge necessary, the legislative power to be "styled the General Assembly of Indian Stream." It provides for the creation of courts in which the council should be the high court of error. It provides for the encouragement of literature and moral virtue, for the issuance of writs and other process, and contains all provisions necessary for putting the government in operation, as well as a provision for altering and amending the constitution, the latter provision declaring that "The speaker of the assembly shall,

at every annual session when a quorum is present, put the question, is it necessary to alter or amend the constitution, and take the vote by yeas and nays by calling the names of every member." Upon the vote adopting the constitution there were fifty-six yeas and three nays.

It was also voted in the same convention, and after the adoption of the constitution, that the council draft a set of rules for the government of the house when in session.

The assembly passed an act to establish courts of justice, an act to regulate the collection of debts, damages, and fines, an act regulating the fees of the sheriff and defining his duties, an act to provide for the forming of juries, an act to prevent selling spirituous liquors in or near the assembly room, an act to exempt certain property from attachment, an act for organizing the militia, acts providing for the assessment and collection of taxes, acts to support the government, and for making and repairing highways, an act regulating marriages, an act to prevent vexatious suits at law, an act for the punishment of assault, and battery, and murder (attaching the death penalty to wilful murder), an act making provision for confinement of criminals, an act authorizing the sheriff to appoint deputies, an act to provide for laying out and discontinuing public roads or highways.

The government entered in negotiations with Maine authorities upon the subject of a contemplated road designed to open communications between the Indian Stream country and the state of Maine.

Among the last acts recorded is an act to prevent unlawful service of process, an act for the punishment of perjury, an act for the protection of officers in their official duties, an act to compel witnesses to attend when summoned, and the last recorded, which was passed on the 18th of April, 1835, provides for the extradition of persons charged with crime and escaping from other governments.

All functions of this government, so formed and put in operation, were quite vigorously exercised, and for nearly three years the Indian Stream government, unique in circumstance and democratic in form, was altogether quite potential.

It would seem that in the latter part of '34 and the early part of '35 New Hampshire began to show a more vigorous activity

in the assertion of her jurisdiction than theretofore ; and while the United States and Great Britain both claimed the territory, it is apparent that such powers were content with so shaping their policies as not to waive their rights, and not to precipitate active hostilities. It is also apparent that New Hampshire, maintaining more vigorously than the general government the American view, was still disposed, while negotiations were pending between the greater powers, to proceed cautiously, and content herself with declaratory acts, setting forth her unmistakable purpose of an ultimate vigorous insistence upon her right to exercise jurisdiction over this territory.

During the decade prior to 1834, a Canadian magistrate, impressing his importance upon the Canadian settlers on the frontier, and insinuating his influence among the settlers of the disputed territory, was the cause of much annoyance to the inhabitants of these localities, the government of New Hampshire, the government of the United States, the general government of Lower Canada, and the government of Great Britain as well.

As a result of the disturbed and irritated conditions caused by the encroachments of this magistrate, the government of New Hampshire during the administration of Governor Badger, under the advice of George Sullivan as attorney-general, became more vigorous, and under the direction of John H. White, sheriff of Coös county, the state asserted its jurisdiction by the service of process upon the inhabitants within this territory.

The government of Indian Stream having been rendered necessary by the failure of the contending powers to establish an effectual government, and having been established, it became the purpose of the inhabitants to stoutly exercise the right of self-government until the jurisdictional question should be definitely and finally determined.

Prompted by such purpose, the assembly passed an act on the 18th of April, 1835, reciting in substance that process was being served by persons claiming to be officers, who were not such under the constitution and laws of Indian Stream, and providing for their arrest and punishment.

Prior to this action, however, on the part of the assembly, and on the second day of September, 1834, a council of the

Indian Stream territory, being influenced unquestionably somewhat by a growing theory that this territory, if within the United States, was not in New Hampshire, and therefore a territory of the United States (a theory which is more fully shown by the opinion of Chief Justice Parker in *Bedel v. Loomis*, 11 N. H. 9, 15) memorialized the attorney-general of the United States on the subject.

Mr. Remick, chief clerk of the state department at Washington, writes that this document cannot be found. The reply of the attorney-general, Mr. Forsyth, however, unquestionably recites the ground of the memorial, which was that the council considered themselves "if within the jurisdiction of the United States as under that of the general government and not of New Hampshire." Mr. Forsyth was a Georgian, and his conclusion upon the subject was stated in the following epigrammatic sentence: "If you are within the limits of the United States, as has always been maintained by this government, it is because you are within the limits of the state of New Hampshire."

On the day that this memorial was sent to the attorney-general of the United States, the same committee addressed a communication to John H. White, sheriff of the county of Coös, in which they asked him to suspend the exercise of jurisdiction within this territory "until such time as we can obtain an answer from the United States government whether the boundary line has been settled and affixed between the United States and Great Britain, and if so, if we are considered to belong to New Hampshire." They also informed the sheriff that they had sent a communication to the general government on the subject saying, "we have taken this method to secure the rights and calm the irritated feelings of the people which are daily increasing, considering that New Hampshire has no legal right to claim jurisdiction over this place and enforce her laws upon us, if in answer we should be informed otherwise, we as loyal subjects shall quietly and peaceably submit to her laws and authority . . . we are anxious to take every precautionary measure in our power now, and shall continue so to do to prevent the effusion of blood."

A copy of a letter in the office of the secretary of state at Concord, which is without date, (but the report of the judiciary

committee to whom was referred the special message of the governor at the June session, 1835, shows that it was subsequent to the communication to Mr. Forsyth,) signed by another committee of Indian Stream and addressed "To His Excellency the Governor of the Province of Lower Canada," sets forth that the territory on which the settlement is located "has been, and still is claimed by the government of the United States and that of Great Britain, that we have until a few days since been permitted by said governments to enjoy ourselves as a neutral nation or people and govern ourselves by our own laws, but that a few days since invasions have been made upon our rights by the sheriff of New Hampshire, by his Deputy, William Smith of the County of Coös in said state, by exercising his authority over this territory as being a part and belonging to said state . . . and it is said that the government of said state has directed him so to do, all which doing we are fully of opinion is without any lawful authority, and a violation upon our rights and contrary to treaty between said governments, and whereas said inhabitants are unable to defend ourselves against said state, we, the undersigned, in behalf of said inhabitants, pray your Excellency to take our case under your wise consideration, and grant us such relief as you in your wisdom shall judge proper and just, for we expect new invasions."

A letter dated September 18, 1834, from W. M. Richardson, then chief-justice of New Hampshire, addressed to John H. White, Esq., who was sheriff of Coös county, a copy of which is now in the office of the secretary of state at Concord, sets forth "that a question of boundary between the territories of nations is purely a political question to be settled by treaty, and does not belong to the courts of either nation." He says further, in the same communication, "what the views of the government of this state now are I am not advised. It will be the duty of courts to enforce the laws co-extensively with the territory which the state claims. Perhaps your wisest and safest course will be to take the advice of the executive and follow that. I trust nothing will be done that may lead to violence and bloodshed."

Mr. White, on the 17th of January, 1835, addressed a communication to the council of Indian Stream in reply to their

communication of the 2d of September, 1834, to which I have referred, in which he sets forth that he has consulted the chief-justice of the superior court and the executive of the state, and transmits a letter from George Sullivan, attorney-general, to the governor who had taken his advice. This communication with the opinion of the attorney-general, made known the purpose of New Hampshire to exercise with vigor and aggressiveness her government to the bound claimed by the United States.

About this time factions were developed which favored the Canadian view, others which favored the New Hampshire claim as to jurisdiction, others the idea of a United States territory, and others, probably constituting a majority, maintaining and contending that they should "abide by and support our constitution and laws,"—the constitution and laws of the Indian Stream territory, "agreeably to our oaths until known to what government we properly belong when our constitution is at an end."

About this time, the Canadians, under the lead of the magistrate to whom I have referred, became more aggressive, advocated resistance to New Hampshire laws, promised help from Canada, and made efforts to serve process within the territory and what the Canadians claimed to be the township of Drayton, and preparations were made for the organization of battalions on the Canadian side of the frontier.

Such conditions, together with the act of April 18, 1835, to which I have referred, and which related to the service of process by outside authorities, and the attempt to enforce laws for the punishment of perjury, and for the forfeiture of citizenship within this territory on the ground of treason, prompted attitudes of belligerency and created such conditions of excitement and insecurity as to occasion a special message from Governor Badger to the legislature at the June session, 1835; and after an investigation and a report from the judiciary committee to whom the message was referred, the legislature adopted a resolution declaring "that the state of New Hampshire should continue the possession of the Indian Stream territory, and maintain the jurisdiction of the state over the same, until the question of boundaries now in dispute between the United States and Great Britain affecting the limits of said territory

shall be finally settled; and His Excellency the Governor be requested to render all necessary aid to the executive officers of the county of Coös in causing the laws of said state to be duly executed within the limits of said territory." It was further resolved at the same time that "it is inexpedient for the state during the pendency of the controversy in relation to said boundaries to make any disposition of the interests of the state in the land of said Indian Stream Territory."

Following this resolution Governor Badger as commander-in-chief of the New Hampshire forces, through Adjutant-General Joseph Low, issued an order upon Ira Young as colonel of the Twenty-fourth regiment, which caused Captain James Mooney to rendezvous with his company at Stewartstown "for the purpose of rendering to John H. White Esquire, Sheriff of said county, such assistance as might be necessary to enable him to serve process in Indian Stream Territory." The company encamped at Stewartstown from the fourth to the sixth of August, 1835. It later became necessary to occupy the territory of Indian Stream by military force, and a detachment of the Twenty-fourth regiment, consisting of Captain Mooney's company, was ordered into the territory in November, 1835. The instruction of Governor Badger to General Low being "to take such steps as might be found necessary to maintain the integrity of the state and its laws, and if necessary to call out so much of the Twenty-fourth regiment as will enable the executive officers of the county of Coös to execute the laws and suppress and put down all insurrectionary movements."

Accordingly General Low ordered Col. Ira Young to "detach and order into service, and place at the disposal of John H. White, Esquire, Sheriff of the County of Coös, one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants, two musicians, and forty-two privates, for three months unless sooner discharged."

Between the time of the rendezvous of Captain Mooney's company at Stewartstown in August and its subsequent occupation of Indian Stream territory, there were Canadian encroachments, which aroused not only the inhabitants of Indian Stream, but of all the towns of the northern part of the state.

This paper is not the place for details, but as the episode had

the effect to prompt international investigation and accelerate negotiations which speedily ascertained and established the jurisdictional line, it becomes historically important, and I must refer to it briefly and leave those who are interested to pursue inquiries with reference to this affair to detailed accounts in the history of Coös county, to which I have referred, and to the evidence and the report presented to the legislature in 1836 by a committee consisting of Joseph Low, Ralph Metcalf, and John P. Hale.

The story in brief is as follows: In October, 1835, the executive officers of New Hampshire having in custody an inhabitant of Indian Stream territory were forcibly resisted and the prisoner rescued, escaping into Canada. During the same month an armed body from the Canadian side came into the Indian Stream territory executing a warrant upon an inhabitant of Indian Stream who had rendered aid to the executive officer of New Hampshire in respect to the prisoner to whom I have just referred. When asked by what authority they acted, they answered, "the king's." The inhabitant against whom the warrant was directed was taken into custody, and while the Canadian party were proceeding to the place where the warrant was returnable, was in turn rescued by a mounted body of Americans.

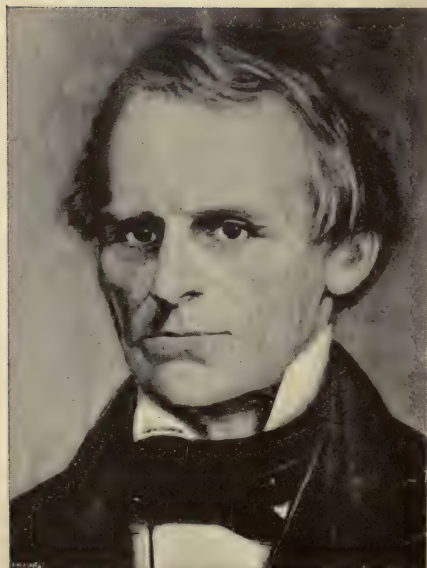
News of this Canadian encroachment spread rapidly, and within a few hours there were assembled on the frontier between two and three hundred mounted men, from the towns of Colebrook, Stewartstown, Clarksville, and the Indian Stream territory, embracing a portion of Captain Mooney's company.

Acting under the excitement and impulse of the occasion, some of the more aggressive, who were not members of the New Hampshire militia, organized a mounted party, and proceeding, I suppose, on the ground of the right of recapture, invaded the king's dominion for the avowed purpose of recapturing the party who had early in the month been wrested from the New Hampshire authorities.

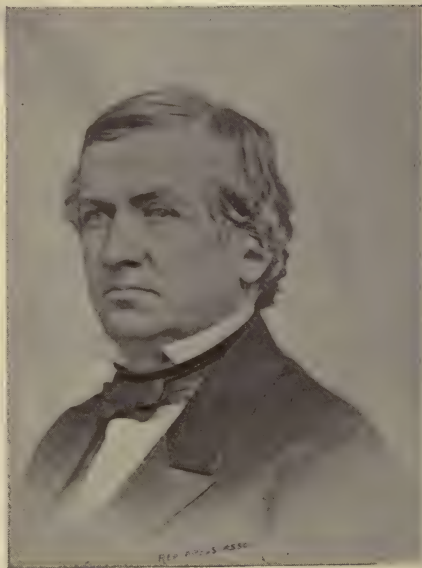
This raid resulted not only in recapture, but in making prisoner of the Canadian magistrate, who violently resisted the recapture, and attempted to make prisoners of the raiding party. The magistrate, after being brought from the Canadian



DANIEL WEBSTER.



ISAAC HILL.



JOHN P. HALE.

dominion into Vermont, was finally released and allowed to return.

Military occupancy of the Indian Stream territory during a part of the years 1835-'36 was for the ostensible purpose and upon the avowed necessity of aiding the civil authorities of New Hampshire, but it is to be presumed that the underlying purpose was broad enough to resist any organized military force from the Canadian side.

However this may be, this show of military power in connection with the invasions and recapture, to which I have alluded, precipitated an emphatic complaint and protest from Lord Gosford, captain general and governor of Lower Canada, issued from the castle of St. Louis, Quebec, in February, 1836, to Charles Bankhead, Esq., His Britannic Majesty's Charge d'Affaires, at Washington, in which he says, "It has become my duty to communicate to you the details of an outrage of a very grave character which has recently been committed within the undoubted limits of this province by an armed body, consisting principally of citizens of New Hampshire, on two of His Majesty's subjects—one a Justice of the Peace, and the other a peace officer, while in the execution of their official duties. And I have to request that you will take such steps as you may judge advisable to obtain immediate redress from the Justice of the central government of the United States for this infraction of the Law of Nations, accompanied by acts endangering the lives and violating the liberties of His Majesty's Canadian subjects." He also transmits the report of a Canadian commission consisting of Edward Short, I. McKensie, and Benjamin Pomroy. This commission was created for the purpose of investigating and reporting the condition of affairs in the disputed territory, and is dated from Lenoxville the 1st of January, 1836, and among other things sets forth "that the territory is now in the possession of a body of New Hampshire militia consisting of fifty men under the immediate orders of the same James Mooney who was conspicuous in the affray at Hereford, that in our progress thro' the Indian Stream settlement in the prosecution of our inquiry, we were stopped on the highway near the house of one Fletcher by a military guard composing a part of the force

above mentioned, who at the point of the bayonet commanded us to stand and would not permit us to pass, altho' made aware of the authority under which we were acting."

After an interesting correspondence between Secretary Forsyth and Isaac Hill, then senator from New Hampshire, in which Mr. Hill maintains the New Hampshire claim, and indicates that the discontent and the disturbance was the result of a course pursued by the Canadian government calculated to encourage malcontents, the correspondence was forwarded to Governor Badger by Mr. Forsyth, secretary of state.

The dispatches between the two general governments were at all times dignified and conservative. That which I have been able to examine begins with Lord Aylmer in April, 1835. Lord Aylmer, who was then governor-in-chief of Canada, in a dispatch to Sir Charles R. Vaughan, His Majesty's minister at Washington, recites an instance of the exercise of judicial authority on the part of the state of New Hampshire within the limits of the provisional government of Indian Stream and sets forth that such action "cannot be acquiesced in without prejudice to the pretensions of Great Britain to the possession of the territory of the Indian Stream as a portion of the province of Lower Canada," and says: "From the commencement of my administration I have considered it a very essential part of my duty as Governor-in-Chief of his Majesty's North American possessions, to cultivate the good will of the neighboring states of the American union being assured that, in so doing I have been acting in accordance with the well-known friendly disposition of His Majesty's government towards the United States."

A communication from Adjutant-General Low to Colonel White, sheriff of the county of Coös, under date of January 29, 1836, sets forth that the authorities of New Hampshire are advised "that the British government will not interfere with our jurisdiction at Indian Stream until the question of boundaries shall have been settled by proper authorities," and that he is directed by the governor to ask the opinion of Sheriff White and Solicitor Williams as to the necessity of continuing military occupancy of the Indian Stream territory.

Peace and quiet having been restored, withdrawal of the troops soon followed.

At the June session, 1836, the New Hampshire legislature again resolved "that the state of New Hampshire should continue the possession of the Indian Stream Territory and maintain the jurisdiction of this state over the same until the question of boundaries now in dispute between the United States and Great Britain affecting the limits of said territory shall be finally settled." The governor is again requested to render all necessary aid to the executive officers of the county of Coös in causing the laws of the state to be duly executed within the limits of said territory. The governor is also "authorized to appoint commissioners to repair to Indian Stream and collect and arrange such testimony as may be obtained to rebut and explain the charges and testimony obtained and preferred against the citizens of this state by Lord Gosford, Governor of the province of Lower Canada." Under this resolution the committee consisting of Low, Metcalf, and Hale, to which I have referred, was appointed for such purpose.

The depositions were taken before Mr. Hale and Col. Ira Young, and the evidence there gathered and preserved by this committee in connection with its report, sets forth in detail the heroic and courageous action of the people of northern Coös in the maintenance of what to them seemed right.

With the assurance of the British government through the proper channels that no further interference with the jurisdiction of New Hampshire over the Indian Stream territory should take place, local and military hostilities ceased, and peace was restored.

Forsyth, Hill, Badger, Sullivan, Low, and White were all men of courage and determination, and well calculated to maintain the rights and establish the authority of the nation and state to such a bound as they were entitled to go.

At about this period the work of negotiation with respect to the establishment of boundaries between the United States, Great Britain, and other countries was pushed more vigorously, and being only partially closed by Webster was continued by Calhoun; that part with which we are now dealing, however, being definitely and finally settled by article 1 of the

treaty of 1842, executed at Washington by Webster and Ashburton, wherein after defining the northeastern boundary of Maine, and coming to the source of the southwest branch of the St. John in the Highlands at the Metjarmette portage, it is provided that the boundary shall go "thence down along the said Highlands, which divide the waters which empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean to the head of Hall Stream; thence down the middle of said stream till the line thus run intersects the old line of boundary surveyed and marked by Valentine and Collins, previously to the year 1774, as the forty-fifth degree of North Latitude," thus giving to New Hampshire all the territory which she claimed.

According to an article published in Volume II of the New Hampshire Historical Society Collections, written in 1827 from Portsmouth, wherein the writer sets forth from recollection the arguments made by the two countries, which he perused through the politeness of the secretary of the English council; the claim of England was that the Maine branch of the river issuing from Lake Connecticut must be deemed the "north-westernmost head of Connecticut river," because the other streams did not bear the name of "Connecticut," but distinct names; while on the contrary, it was shown by the United States that this is the case with almost all rivers having different heads, and that this "head" coming from the lake can hardly be said to spring from the "Highlands," and would have been designated for a boundary by the name of the main branch if one more northwest had not been intended as the boundary. According to the same authority the British next contended for Indian Stream as the northwesternmost head, while on the other hand it was argued that Leach stream is farther west, etc., and that the treaty does not say the most northerly head, the main head, or the northwest head, but the northwesternmost head.

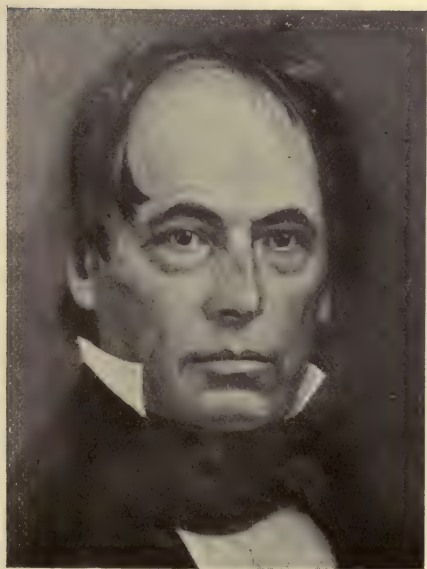
It must also be said in the same connection that the surveyors of New York and Canada, in 1772, passed by Hall stream on the forty-fifth degree of north latitude to the main branch of the river. New Hampshire did not take part in this survey, however.



GOV. WILLIAM BADGER.



GEN. JOSEPH LOW.



GOV. JARED W. WILLIAMS.



CAPT. JAMES MOONEY.

It must also be recalled that as late as 1835, Sir Charles R. Vaughn, then Great Britain's envoy extraordinary, in a communication to Forsyth, the American secretary of state, sets forth "that the British government contends that the north-westernmost head of the Connecticut river ought to be established at the source of a stream which flows into a lake above the Connecticut lake."

It may be safely assumed, that Mr. Webster, a native of New Hampshire, loving her people, and knowing and loving her rivers, lakes, and hills, looking at this great highway, having its source in her highlands, flowing and broadening through the valleys of the state of his adoption, prompted by love for his native state and his view of the national importance of this great river in a commercial and military sense, brought to the support of New Hampshire's claim and the contention of the federal government all his energy, and all the power of his persuasive eloquence.

The territory in dispute embraced something like 200,000 acres, and at the time the provisional government of Indian Stream was formed, there were between ninety and a hundred voters, and a population of three or four hundred.

At this time the people of the settlement understood that the treaty-making powers had at least tacitly agreed that neither should exercise jurisdiction pending treaty negotiations.

Occupation of the territory by military force did not bring on a conflict between the regular organizations, but unquestionably the presence of military force quieted the disturbed conditions within the territory, and caused the local, civil, and military authorities of Canada to stand off, and therefore had the effect to avoid conflicts and bloodshed which otherwise would have taken place between the frontier settlements.

The legislature of New Hampshire promptly and at the November session, 1836, passed a resolution setting forth that the military and other expenses incurred by the government of New Hampshire in protecting its citizens from unlawful attempts on the part of the authorities of the province of lower Canada to possess and exercise jurisdiction over Indian Stream territory, were proper charges against the government of the

United States as such resistance was made necessary "in consequence" of the foreign interference with such territory.

The expenses attending this campaign were finally assumed by the general government upon the ground that as it related to a bound between the United States and a foreign country, it in effect involved an international dispute, and the state was reimbursed through special acts of congress in 1849 and 1852.

So far as actual maintenance of jurisdiction was concerned, the burden for a long time rested upon New Hampshire, the federal custom officials confusing the conditions and rendering the situation more uncertain for a time, by exacting duties from the people of the Indian Stream territory, who brought their products into Vermont and New Hampshire.

The assertions and administrative acts of New Hampshire, as has been stated, were, prior to 1834, lacking in force and vigor, and on the whole, the condition of affairs in this territory resulting from the inertia of the two governments would seem to justify the establishment and maintenance of the provisional government of Indian Stream. Its form and provisions show that the people possessed wisdom and were inspired by principles of morality. The subsequent conflicts are sufficient evidence of their metal and courage. The only official stain upon the local government results from the application to the Canadian powers for protection against New Hampshire, but viewed in the light of the preamble to their constitution, and the communications to the various powers, this should be accepted, perhaps, as a diplomatic effort on the part of the people to secure aid necessary to sustain themselves in a position of neutrality pending treaty negotiations, in order that they might the more naturally and gracefully adjust themselves to the government under whose jurisdiction they should finally fall.

Whatever may have been the views of individuals or factions during the unsettled and disturbed periods, when the jurisdictional line was finally established, all became loyal to their state and country, this territory furnishing more soldiers to the Civil War, according to her population, than any other in New Hampshire save one. And there were none more brave.

The boundary conflict is no more. Peace and prosperity

reign in the valleys of the upper Connecticut. Only a few of the strong and brave actors in this affair remain. The great majority have been removed from the stage of action, some sleeping among other scenes, many having their final resting-place among the hills and in the valleys they loved so well.

Appendix.

I first wish to express my appreciation of the courtesies extended to me by the Honorable William B. Ives, president of the council of the Canadian government at Ottawa, and to the Honorable John Costigan, secretary of state, Canada, who have kindly furnished copies of such papers as I have needed from Canadian Archives, in the prosecution of this work.

The Honorable Joseph B. Walker of the Historical society requests that I refer to documents and histories connected with the affair to which I have directed attention in the foregoing paper. Consequently, I refer (not as including all) to the following treaties, official correspondence, messages, reports, histories, etc., some bearing directly, others remotely, upon the subject:

Treaty of 1783, Art. 2. Treaty of 1814, Art. V. Treaty of 1842, Art. 1.

Correspondence between the governors of Lower Canada and the British ministers at Washington and Mr. Forsyth, partial copies of which with other papers are in the secretary of state's office at Concord, marked "Papers relating to Indian Stream, 1834-5-6."

Other copies of Canadian and Federal official correspondence, which I pass to the New Hampshire Historical Society.

Correspondence between Governor Badger and the attorney-general of the United States, and between the governor and the attorney-general of New Hampshire, a part of which is in the secretary of state's office at Concord.

A paper on the Northern Boundary, written from Portsmouth, April 20, 1827, to which I have heretofore referred.

The Critical Period of American History, by John Fiske, 1891.

Book of Indian Stream Records, now in the New Hampshire Historical Society collection.

History and Description of New England, by A. J. Coolidge and J. B. Mansfield, 1860. 390.

New Hampshire Patriot, 1820 to 1838.

Military History of New Hampshire, by Chandler E. Potter,

published in Adjutant-General's Report, New Hampshire, 1868, 12, 269.

Garneau's History of Canada, 1862.

The Northeastern Boundary, by Honorable Israel Washburn, Jr., LL. D., Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Vol. 8, p. 1.

Thirty Years in the United States Senate, by Thomas H. Benton, Vol. 2, 420-445.

Judge William L. Putnam of the United States Circuit Court has a valuable collection of documents relating to the north-eastern boundary, among which is a volume consisting of documents and papers, principally extracted from the statements laid before the King of the Netherlands, revised by Albert Gallatin, with an appendix and eight maps. Another volume of documents relating to the north-eastern boundary of the state of Maine, printed by Dutton & Wentworth, Boston, printers to the state of Maine in 1828. Another, consisting of the governor's message and documents on the subject of the doings of the arbiter (King of the Netherlands) with a report of the committee of the legislature in relation to the north-eastern boundary of Maine, printed by Todd & Holden, printers to the state in 1831. The maps in the appendix to Gallatin's volume strongly sustain the American view, both as to the Highlands between the St. Lawrence and the St. John as the boundary of Maine, and as to Hall stream as the northerly bound of New Hampshire.

Address by Honorable Sidney Webster before the Grafton and Coös Bar Association in 1892, on Franklin Pierce and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, Bar Publications, Vol. 2.

History of Coös County, Fergusson, 1888, 95, 696-720.

Grant Power's History of the Coös Country, 2d edition published 1880. Old edition, 1841.

Report of Legislative Committee and Resolution, November session, and Act approved December 22, 1824.

Resolution of the Legislature approved June 18, 1836, creating a Committee of Investigation.

The Report and Evidence filed by Joseph Low, Ralph Metcalf, and John P. Hale, November 23, 1836, a copy of which is now with Richard Fletcher, Esq., Lancaster, bound in Vol. 13 Pamphleteer, such volume being a collection of interesting documents made by Hiram A. Fletcher, Esq. This report is published in the Journal of the Legislature, 1836, p. 397, but it does not contain the evidence taken by Mr. Hale as does Fletcher's collection in his Vol. 13 of the Pamphleteer.

Another copy with Mary Bedel Drew, daughter of Col.

Hazen Bedel and grand-daughter of Lyman Lombard, a member of Corresponding Committee to the Governor.

Report of Glines, Land Agent, Journal of the House, June session, p. 297.

Report of James W. Weeks, Surveyor. Appendix to Journal, June session, 1849, p. 600.

Report of John Flanders and David Blanchard, Agents, *Id.* 596.

Plan of Pittsburg prepared and filed in the Secretary of State's office by Honorable James W. Weeks June 15, 1849.

Governor Badger's Special Message to the Legislature, 1835. House Journal, p. 33.

Report of Judiciary Committee, appendix, Journal 1835.

Any one interested in the history of this affair should examine carefully the Journals of the House and Senate from 1800 to 1850 (as I do not undertake to refer to them all), and for this purpose it would be well to refer to Aiken's index under the head of "Indian Stream" and "Pittsburg." It would be well, also, to look for the Governor Badger papers among his descendants, as well as the papers of General Low, Colonel Young, and Sheriff White. Honorable James W. Weeks, of Lancaster, and David Blanchard, Esq., of Pittsburg, have personal knowledge of the Indian Stream affair, and have made valuable collections of papers.

Unfortunately, there are few, if any, papers or records in the office of the adjutant-general, where one would naturally expect to find a full account of the military operations. The late Amos W. Drew, of Stewartstown, was ensign of Captain Mooney's company. His record book of the company is now in the possession of his son, Hon. Irving W. Drew, of Lancaster. It is to be hoped that the Historical Society will obtain and preserve this. I should also examine the records of the state treasury department for evidence of the financial transactions between the state and federal governments.

The northern boundary was by actual survey ascertained under the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, and marked by iron posts inscribed as follows:

On Easterly side—"Boundary Augth 9th, 1842."

On Westerly side—"Treaty of Washington."

On Northerly side—"Col. I. B. B. Estcourt, H. B. M. Com^{sr}."

On Southerly side—"Albert Smith, U. S. Com^{sr}."

On motion of Hon. J. B. Walker, a vote of thanks was presented to Judge Aldrich, for his very able and exhaustive address; and a copy of the same requested, for publication in the proceedings of the society.

Voted, To adjourn, to the call of the President.

JOHN C. ORDWAY.

Recording Secretary.

SECOND ADJOURNED SEVENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING AND FIELD-DAY.

FRANKLIN, N. H., October 4, 1894.

The second adjourned seventy-second annual meeting and field day of the New Hampshire Historical Society, was held at Franklin, October 4, 1894, a large number being in attendance. Upon arrival at the railroad station, carriages were in readiness to take the party to places of historic interest. The first point was the birthplace of Daniel Webster, New Hampshire's greatest son; and after an hour's ride the party reached the memorable spot, and visited the room in which the famous lawyer, orator, and statesman first opened his eyes to the light of day, as established by indisputable evidence, by Dr. J. J. Dearborn, the historian of Salisbury, who was present and gave the company much interesting information.

The party were next driven to the Webster farm, whither the family moved while Daniel was quite young. It is now the site of the New Hampshire Orphans' Home, where at present nearly one hundred children are kindly cared for. The company were courteously received by Rev. James Noyes, the superintendent, and his wife, the matron, who conducted them through the Home, and gave them the opportunity to become eye witnesses of its internal arrangement and management, beyond mistake convincing them of the good work it is doing, and the worthiness of its appeals to public charity.

The party were next driven to the town hall, Franklin Falls, where an ample collation was served, through the kindly forethought and generosity of Honorables Warren S. Daniell and Alvah W. Sulloway, by Mrs. and Miss Daniell, Mrs. Sulloway, and an efficient corps of assistants; after which the party repaired to the public hall, where the business meeting of the society was held, and after-dinner speeches made, Hon. Amos Hadley, the president of the society, in the chair.

In the absence of the secretary, Rev. N. F. Carter was chosen secretary pro tem.

The report of the committee on new members was presented by Charles L. Tappan; and after its acceptance, the following gentlemen were unanimously elected:

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Captain William Lithgow Willey, 17 W. Cedar street, Boston, Mass.; Colonel Adolphus Skinner Hubbard, 819 Market street, San Francisco, Cal.; Captain Henry Hobart Bellas, U. S. A., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

President Charles S. Murkland, Durham; Captain James Miller, U. S. A., Concord; Miss Jane Elizabeth Hoyt, M. D., Concord; Mrs. Mary Whittemore Eastman, Concord.

Hon. L. D. Stevens introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That the grateful and cordial thanks of the New Hampshire Historical Society are tendered Messrs. Daniell, Sulloway, and other citizens, and ladies of Franklin, for the kind, gracious, and generous manner with which its visiting members have been received and entertained.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

Hon. W. F. Daniell made response, regretting that, through neglect of the local committee of arrangements, no invitation had been given to the citizens of Franklin, who, in response to such invitation, would have filled the hall.

Hon. Amos Hadley, Ph. D., gave a brief Historical Sketch of Franklin. He spoke as follows:

PRESIDENT HADLEY'S ADDRESS.

Franklin, as a distinct municipality, is not old ; having come into being as such only 66 years ago. Its territory is a mosaic of four pieces, clipped from as many older towns, and veined by three rivers, about whose confluence the parts harmoniously adjust themselves. Fair and fortunate is Franklin for situation, where the Pemigewasset and the Winnipiseogee become one, and the Merrimack is born.

While the propitious wedding of the bright son of the mountain with the fair daughter of the lake is a fit theme for poesy, it also has an interesting connection with the history of Franklin and of our state. For, in the year 1638, the colony of Massachusetts, claiming her northern boundary along a line three miles to the northward of the Merrimack, and "any and every point thereof," sent a committee "to discover the running of the" river. The committee decided the head of the Merrimack to be at its "forks," or the point of union of the Pemigewasset and Winnipiseogee rivers,—a very natural conclusion,—and then journeying on three miles further north, marked a great pine tree, to indicate the northern boundary line of the colony. The pine was called "Endicott's Tree." But it lost its significance as a boundary mark, when, fourteen years later "Endicott Rock," at the head of the Winnipiseogee confluent, was traced with historic initials, to denote the head of the Merrimack, while incidentally signifying the widening ambition of the Bay colony. That official visit in the summer or autumn of 1638, was probably the first visit of any kind made by civilized man within the territory of the present Franklin.

Little intimation did its deep, dark woods then give those visitants, that 190 years later, a chartered town would there stand, upon whose 9,000 acres, and along whose rapid waterfall, energetic enterprise, skillful and enlightened endeavor, and virtuous doing should achieve their high commensurate success ;—should build up a Franklin to be a garden of agricultural prosperity, a very palace of mechanical and manufacturing industry, and the home of intellectual, moral, social, and religious enjoyment.

With the contributions of territory made by Andover, Salis-

bury, Northfield, and Sanbornton, to the Franklin mosaic, went some of the history of the older townships. The territory, Franklin may hold in exclusive right; the history, she must share in moiety with former possessors. This transfer of history with transfer of soil finds special illustration in the case of Salisbury, whose eastern extremity, lying along the Merrimack and Pemigewasset, fell to the domain of Franklin.

It was in the year 1748, that the first permanent settlement was effected in Stevenstown, or Salisbury. Then it was that Philip Call, a brave pioneer, who had been much on scouting service in these parts during the Indian war just closing, took up his abode within the limits of the township near by "Salisbury fort," and the Merrimack. There he dwelt with his wife and son, near the locality that should, in later days, become the "Webster place," and the site of that blessed charity—the Orphans' Home. There upon the very rim of northern English occupation, he lived during the ominous lull between King George's and the Seven Years' Wars. With the renewal of hostilities, the red allies of the French returned to plague the frontier settlers of New Hampshire.

On the 16th of August, 1754, thirty savages, hot from Canada, and headed by their bloody captain, Sasup, by name, appeared upon the premises of Philip Call. He and his son Stephen had gone out to their summer labors, leaving in the supposed security of home, their wives and an infant child. At work in the field with their hired man, Timothy Cook, they were startled by the sudden fearful apparition of the stealthy foe, whose fatal approach to their dwelling they would fain anticipate by reaching it first. But with all their speed, the three men can only get near enough to hear the tomahawk's fell blow crash upon the head of the elder woman,—Stevenstown's first settler of her sex,—who had met the savages at her door, there to fall smitten in death upon her threshold, and to afford the scalping-knife one ghastly trophy more. The three white men cannot match the overwhelming numbers of their dusky foes, and they betake themselves to the woods. The two Calls effect escape, but Cook, plunging into the river, is shot and scalped. The house is rifled; the mother of the family lies at her door—dead, disfigured; and Sasup has led his exultant band away.

But, now,—strange to relate!—another and the younger mother comes forth alive, and bearing in her arms her living son; for, hidden in a dark and friendly recess behind a providential chimney, she and her hushed infant have escaped the ferret search of savage eyes, and imminent savage death.

Such is one story of the early settlement of Stevenstown, and, by historical transfer, of that of Franklin. There is much more of history of the years before the younger town distinctly “found herself” in 1828, which she shares with Salisbury, but which this brief effort may not touch. Only slight and parting allusion is allowed even to her share with the elder town in that proud historic honor which crowns with a nimbus of reverential glory the places of birth, the nurture, and the recreation of Webster—New Hampshire’s greatest intellect, America’s, nay, the world’s, great among the greatest.

Mr. Daniell introduced Maj. W. A. Gile of Worcester, Mass., whose father was a former citizen of Franklin, and a neighbor of Daniel Webster. He made many felicitous allusions to the great statesman, and was warmly applauded.

President C. S. Murkland, being called for, spoke in a very happy manner of Daniel Webster.

Hon. Henry M. Baker, member of congress, made touching allusions to the late Judge Nesmith, so long identified with the interests of Franklin and the state, a life-long friend of Mr. Webster, and a long and useful member of this Society.

Hon. L. D. Stevens of Concord made the closing address; after which the Society adjourned to the call of the President; and the visiting members returned to their homes, happy and grateful for the privileges of the day.

NATHAN F. CARTER,

Secretary pro tem.

A true copy :

JOHN C. ORDWAY,

Recording Secretary.

THIRD ADJOURNED SEVENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING, AND SECOND QUARTERLY MEETING.

December 13, 1894.

The second quarterly, and third adjourned seventy-second annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held in the rooms of the Society in Concord, on Thursday, December 13, 1894, at 2 p. m., President Hadley in the chair.

Charles L. Tappan, chairman of the committee on new members, reported favorably the following named candidates for

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

George Waldo Prescott, Esq., Manchester ; Charles B. Sturtevant, M. D., Manchester.

The report was accepted, and the persons named duly elected by ballot.

On motion of John C. Ordway,

Voted, That the librarian, with the advice and consent of the Standing Committee, be authorized to extend the gas piping already in the building to the office, and to the library room on the second floor, and procure necessary fixtures.

On motion of Joseph B. Walker,

Voted, That Hon. Benjamin A. Kimball be a committee to look after the Society's interests in matters of legislation affecting the Society, which may come before the next legislature.

REPORT.

A majority of the committee appointed to consider the question of printing the Plumer Memoirs respectfully report :

1. The Memoirs, if completed, would take six or seven octavo volumes. The amount that would be received from the sale of these volumes is, in the opinion of the committee, quite small compared with the cost, and the committee are unani-

mously of the opinion that it is inexpedient for the Society, in the present condition of its finances, to attempt to carry through this undertaking, and they, therefore, recommend that the plan of printing the Memoirs in full be abandoned.

2. These volumes of Memoirs contain brief notices of many individuals who were remarkable for nothing but having attained a hundred years of age, and the notices of these persons are generally exceedingly brief and contain nothing but the statement of the fact that the person died at such a place, having reached such an age. These records were evidently made up from newspaper accounts and, as is well known in such cases, are generally inaccurate and not to be depended upon, so far as the age is concerned. It would seem to be a waste of money and paper to include any of these in any edition of the Memoirs.

3. Many of the memoirs, like that of Hannah Adams, are simply abstracts and condensations of printed books. These are, as a rule, sufficiently accessible elsewhere, and no particular reason exists for printing Mr. Plumer's sketches, as they add nothing to what is already known.

4. If it is desirable to print any portion of these Memoirs, it should be confined to persons who lived in New Hampshire or who were, in some way, connected with its history and where the sketches are not made up from printed accounts given elsewhere. If the Society deem it desirable to undertake this, the selection should be made with great care and any errors that exist as to dates, or otherwise, should be corrected in foot-notes so as to make the book worthy of acceptance. They recommend that the printing already begun be suspended.

SAMUEL C. EASTMAN,

EZRA S. STEARNS,

Committee.

MINORITY REPORT.

Mr. Eastman:

I can cheerfully assent to sections 1 and 4 of this report; these seem to cover the ground sufficiently.

My preference would be to strike out sections 2 and 3 as the latter seem to needlessly depreciate the value of the memoirs.

You can append my name to the report as amended if desired.

Very truly,

JOHN C. ORDWAY.

December 6, 1894.

The report, after some discussion, was laid upon the table for action at the next regular meeting.

Voted, That the Publication Committee are hereby authorized to print Part IV of Volume II of the Proceedings of the Society, make an Index, and bind three hundred copies of the thus completed Volume II.

Voted, That a recess be taken until half past seven o'clock this evening, at which hour the Society will reconvene in the senate chamber at the state house.

EVENING.

The Society met in the senate chamber at the state capitol agreeably to adjournment at 7 : 30 o'clock, p. m.

The President introduced to the Society Hon. Roswell Farnham of Bradford, Vermont, who delivered an address upon the life and public services of Gen. Israel Morey, at the conclusion of which, upon motion of Hon. Lyman D. Stevens,

Voted, That the cordial thanks of the Society be tendered to ex-Governor Farnham for his able and interesting address, and that a copy of the same be requested for publication in the Proceedings of the Society.

Interesting remarks, reminiscent in character, followed by Mr. Stevens, Judge Dana, and others.

Voted, (9 o'clock) to adjourn, subject to the call of the President.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

FOURTH ADJOURNED SEVENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING, AND THIRD QUARTERLY MEETING.

CONCORD, N. H., March 20, 1895.

The third quarterly, and fourth adjourned seventy-second annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held in the rooms of the society in Concord, on Wednesday, March 20, 1895, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Hon. Amos Hadley, Ph. D., president of the society, in the chair.

The following named gentlemen were unanimously elected resident members of the society :

Rev. T. Eaton Clapp, D. D., Manchester; Fred Gilmore Hartshorn, Manchester; John D. Marston, Esq., Rye; William C. Todd, Esq., Atkinson.

The committee on the boundary line of the society's lot made a verbal report, which was by vote accepted, and the committee continued.

A communication from Dr. Anton Blomberg, librarian of the Royal Academy of Belles-Lettres, History, and Antiquities of Stockholm, Sweden, was presented, asking for an exchange of the society's publications.

It was voted that the corresponding secretary and librarian be authorized to make the exchange.

A request from the librarian of the University of Vermont, for a gift of this society's publications, was presented; and it was voted that the librarian be authorized to make the exchange asked for.

On motion of Hon. S. C. Eastman, it was voted that the librarian be authorized to procure the binding of certain publications at a cost not exceeding fifty dollars.

Voted, That a recess be taken until 8 o'clock this evening; at which time the society shall re-convene in the senate chamber at the state house.

The society re-convened in the senate chamber in the state capitol at 8 o'clock in the evening, a large number being in attendance.

President Hadley presented Rev. Dr. Samuel Colcord Bartlett, ex-president of Dartmouth College, who delivered an address upon Dr. John Wheelock, second president of the college.

DR. JOHN WHEELOCK.

Notwithstanding the length of John Wheelock's presidency of Dartmouth college and the publicity of its termination, it is no easy matter to form a just estimate of his life and character. The chief available sources of information are the following: A sketch of his life by his son-in-law, President William Allen, in the "American Biographical Dictionary;" the records of

the trustees of Dartmouth college; the action of the legislature of Vermont in behalf of Moor's Charity School and Dartmouth college; that of the legislature of New Hampshire at several times concerning the Charity school and Dartmouth University, and documents connected therewith; the "Sketches of the History of Dartmouth College," prepared unquestionably by Dr. Wheelock, aided to some degree probably by two or three of his friends; "A Candid Analytical Review" of the same by a warm admirer; the "Vindication," afterwards put forth by the eight trustees who removed him from office; much contemporary correspondence collected by John M. Shirley, Esq., in "The Dartmouth College Causes;" some facts contained in Chase's "History of Dartmouth College and Hanover," and manuscript correspondence between Dr. Wheelock and the Scotch trustees of the Indian fund. Some facts have been gleaned from other sources, such as "Smith's History of Dartmouth College;" McClure's "Life of Eleazer Wheelock;" C. Stark's "Life of Gen. John Stark;" Hon. Nathan Crosby's "First Half Century of Dartmouth College." Two or three other contemporary pamphlets, one of them on certain church controversies in which Wheelock was concerned, and the others chiefly of a personal character, cast no essential light on the main subject. Nor are the heirs of Dr. Wheelock able to furnish any unpublished documents which would aid in forming a judgment.

John Wheelock was born in Lebanon, Conn., June 28, 1754, and died in Hanover at the age of sixty-three. He was the second of Eleazer Wheelock's four sons. With three other young men he came from the senior class of Yale college to Dartmouth, the four constituting the first graduating class, that of 1771. His subsequent advancement was somewhat rapid. For two years he was a tutor in the college. In 1775 he was a member of the New Hampshire Assembly. In 1777 he was appointed a major in the service of New York, and later in the same year lieutenant-colonel in the Continental army in the regiment of Colonel Bedell, under the command of General Gates. In 1778, we are told by Dr. Allen, he marched a detachment from Coös to Albany, and by direction of General Stark conducted an expedition into the Indian country. It

appears from Stark's letter to Washington (August 19, 1778) that this was a scouting expedition to Unadilla. Stark speaks of him to Washington as a "gentleman of undoubted character," whose information in his report transmitted "may be depended upon." Several years after the war Stark spent the night with Wheelock at Hanover, and was accompanied on his way by an escort of citizens, his host riding in the company. Wheelock was for a short time in the family of General Gates in New Jersey, and in 1779 was summoned to Hanover on the death of his father, President Eleazer Wheelock.

The charter of Dartmouth college gave to its first president the right to appoint his successor, who should hold office until the appointment should be disapproved by the board of trustees. It is stated, on what authority does not appear, that the elder Wheelock had long intended to appoint his eldest son, Ralph, and when he was incapacitated by disease, Wheelock's thoughts were turned to his step-son, Rev. John Maltby. But the latter had died in 1771; and the elder Wheelock by his last will appointed his son John, then twenty-five years of age, and eight years out of college. The son was in no haste to accept the place. He attended the annual meeting of the trustees in August, 1779, expressed reluctance to take the office, and only consented to preside at Commencement provided it should not be interpreted as an acceptance of the presidency. He was persuaded by the trustees to enter on its duties in October, but in September, 1780, he proposed to resign. The trustees then voted that "the Board is greatly reluctant to accept it [the resignation], as they are entirely satisfied (as far as they are acquainted with) his past administration and discharge of the office, and think it of great importance that he enter on the work of the ministry, if he finds his heart inclined thereto, as soon as may be convenient." This seems to have settled the question.

The college at this time was undoubtedly in a formidable condition. In 1780 it had but thirty students, heavy debts, and property consisting mainly of unproductive and unsalable wild lands. The college treasurer reported that all the property of the corporation, if sold at vendue, would not cancel its debts.

Wheelock entered on his work with no little activity. His first efforts were directed towards remedying the disastrous financial condition of the college. In 1781 he visited Philadelphia, hoping to obtain some appropriation from the Continental Congress, but failed, as perhaps was inevitable. In December, 1782, he sailed for Europe, provided with a remarkable array of letters, from Washington, army generals, state governors, and other prominent men, supplemented by letters from Franklin and John Adams, who were then in Europe. He reports that he obtained a "considerable sum" in Holland, but in England was frustrated by the bitter feelings engendered by the revolution. He succeeded, however, in renewing the remittances of the Scotch fund for Indians, which had been suspended on account of suspicions of misapplication. He speaks also of a collection of "curiosities" made by him for the museum, and of securing a philosophical apparatus of the value of fifty-one pounds and eleven shillings. The "curiosities" and the apparatus, which were brought over after his return, appear to have been the sole results actually accruing to the college from his year's work abroad. For on his return voyage the vessel was wrecked off Cape Cod, and he escaped with only the clothes he wore. How much was lost does not appear, inasmuch as, according to a statement of the treasurer, no account of his expenditures and receipts was rendered. Dr. Allen explains that his "strong box" which was lost contained his money and papers; and according to Mr. Chase, Wheelock claimed that some of his papers were, or would have been, worth five thousand pounds to the institution.

In 1784 the trustees voted, in case the funds could be procured, to erect Dartmouth hall. The president, professors, and some of the trustees of the vicinity were requested to solicit subscriptions. Dr. Wheelock was undoubtedly prominent in the effort. The sum of \$15,000 was subscribed, less than half of which, according to Mr. Chase (though not so indicated by the trustees) was realized. At all events, the cost far exceeded the money raised. About \$1,100 were added by means of a lottery, authorized by the legislature of New Hampshire on the application of Dr. Wheelock in accordance with a vote of the trustees—a striking proof that the world

has moved. The building was begun in that year (1784), but not completed till the seventh year. The deficit and the debt thereby incurred were the cause of long and grave embarrassment. The trustees in their "Vindication" say that the amount expended was never officially reported to them, but that the building is believed to have cost the corporation \$30,000, which, they maintain, was three times its actual value. Some \$3,000 of the excess remained as an indebtedness to President Wheelock at six per cent. interest till the time of his removal, a quarter of a century later. It was under the long and heavy strain of this unfortunate venture, apparently, that nearly all the lands originally given to the college disappeared. It may also be mentioned that the first college grant of 40,960 acres, given by the state in 1789 to make amends, as matter of justice, for the failure of the Landaff grant of Gov. Benning Wentworth and for the heavy losses in improvements, was mostly extinguished under the pressure of debt as early as 1794, half of it at one shilling, and a quarter of it at two shillings six pence, per acre. The building remains, modelled after Nassau hall at Princeton, of excellent proportions and commanding situation; and long may it remain as the one antiquity of the institution.

In 1786 President Wheelock procured from the legislature of Vermont a grant of the township of Wheelock, on such terms, however, that one half was for the college, the other half for the "President of Moor's Charity School." This grant was attended with unfortunate influences and consequences. Complaints gradually arose in Vermont and took substantial form on the ground that the school had no chartered existence, and the grant was therefore void. Protracted discussions, repeated committee reports, and intimations of legal procedures, compelled an application, in 1807, to the New Hampshire legislature for incorporation of "the President of Moor's Charity School," the trustees being associated with him for advice and concurrence, which was granted the next year (1808). The next year this act was explained by an additional act, giving the president and the trustees each a negative on each other. Indications of friction in the board of trustees had begun now to appear, at first more especially between Dr.

Wheelock and Hon. Nathaniel Niles; and about this time discussions and difficulties arose between the original Presbyterian church and the newly formed Congregational church, in which Dr. Wheelock became involved. But the church difficulties, though much has been said of them, were not causes but symptoms.

He had meanwhile superintended the erection of a chapel which had been voted by the trustees and was ultimately paid for from the college funds, although half the cost had been advanced by a subscription of citizens to secure a place of worship. This building, remarkable for a curious diagonal echo, served its purpose from 1790 to 1828; and what little remains of it is part of a barn. Wheelock must have had influence in procuring the second college grant of land in 1807, as well as in the scheme of 1785-'88 for the special alliance of several academies with the college, which took effect for a time in the Kimball Union and New Ipswich academies. He also held, under the name of "financier," an office co-ordinate with that of the treasurer, having exclusive control of the lands, an office surrendered by him in 1804, and giving occasion for subsequent intimations of mismanagement.

The chief accession of productive funds during his administration was the bequest (in 1807) by Rev. Israel Evans of Concord, of the Evans professorship, now yielding an income of six hundred dollars. The Phillips professorship came from lands given by Hon. John Phillips (in 1770 and 1781) originally without conditions, but afterwards, on an additional gift of thirty-seven pounds and a half, set apart for a professorship, and later a subject of controversy. In 1798 the medical school was established, through the persevering efforts of Dr. Nathan Smith.

No special outside efforts of Dr. Wheelock in behalf of the college can be traced later than 1807. He mentions in his "Sketches" that with brief intervals of absence he had conducted morning and evening chapel services, instructed the senior class, superintended all the public literary exercises, and given two lectures a week on "Systematic Theology" for twenty-three years, and one a week for ten years on "Ecclesiastical History" and the "Prophecies,"—a busy record. He

also mentions having made large donations to the college, which, however, the eight trustees maintain had been fully compensated to him.

Notwithstanding its external and internal difficulties the college made progress under him. Between 1790 and 1800 it graduated 363 men, Yale 295, Princeton 240, Harvard 395. In 1791 its graduates (49) were more than those of either of these institutions. The numbers fell off towards 1795, rose in 1810, after which there was some falling off.

There were gathered round Dr. Wheelock some excellent men as professors. Smith, Ripley, Hubbard, Shurtleff, Adams, were men of ability and scholarship, although it appears from his "Sketches" that the last three were in the places they occupied not in accordance with his desire. It should also be mentioned that during his administration the college graduated a large number of able men. Even during the last troublous years of his presidency among those who came were such men as Levi Woodbury, Amos Kendall, George Ticknor, Thaddeus Stevens, Daniel M. Christie, Sylvanus Thayer, Ichabod Bartlett, Professor Haddock, Presidents Torrey, Wheeler, Marsh of Burlington, and Brown of Dartmouth, William Goodell, Daniel Poor, Judges Wilde, Fletcher, Parker, Professors Fiske, Porter, Hall, Mussey, Bush, Chamberlain, and Upham,—the last three having entered the year before his removal. Dartmouth, however, had then no considerable competitor north of Harvard.

It is impossible to avoid alluding to the progress of the dissensions which terminated Dr. Wheelock's official life. They seem to have begun as early as 1800 in connection with the Vermont grant of the township of Wheelock, making their appearance in a complaint made by Dr. Wheelock to the board of trustees against Nathaniel Niles, one of its members, for adverse influences. The frictions, though for some time kept within the meetings of the board, were slowly increasing and extending, showing themselves in the election of professors and trustees, until in 1808 the lines must have been distinctly drawn, and in 1809 the majority of the trustees were not in sympathy with him. When in 1811 the board for the first time substituted in a resolution the phrase "executive officers"

for the "executive authority," the change was deliberate and significant; and Dr. Wheelock, sustained by Messrs. Burroughs and Jacob, viewed it as an intended infringement of his chartered functions as president. Matters culminated in November, 1814, when the board voted to "excuse" the president from giving further instruction in the college on account of the other "burdens" resting upon him, and to commit to Professors Adams, Shurtleff, and Moore the studies he had taught,—all without consulting him. He in the same month proposed to the trustees an investigation by the legislature, to which they did not assent.

Early in April, 1815, there appeared, without Dr. Wheelock's name, but undeniably with his sanction and active participation, a pamphlet of 88 pages, "Sketches of the History of Dartmouth College and of Moor's Charity School," in which, with vehement language and incautious statements, his services and deserts were abundantly set forth, and grave charges made against the trustees. In June he petitioned the legislature for an investigation, reiterating the charges, which he afterwards reaffirmed before the legislative committee. On the 26th of August the trustees took action, disapproving his original appointment, on five specified grounds presently to be mentioned, and removing him from office. In September appeared their caustic "Vindication," defending their action and the charges against him on his removal.

Before the next session of the legislature, William Plumer, an open sympathizer with Dr. Wheelock, had been elected governor, and had received the vote of Wheelock's friends. In his message he urged the legislature to "interfere" in the concerns of the college, to increase the number of trustees, to change the mode of their election, to make the college by annual reports directly responsible to the legislature, so as to enable that body "to act upon whatever may relate to that institution," that is, have entire control of it.

The governor's recommendation was adopted by a vote of 190 to 75, the minority entering a protest on the journal. Dartmouth College was changed to Dartmouth University, with twenty-one trustees and twenty-five overseers, nine of the former and all of the latter being members of the state govern-

ment or its appointees. Eight of the original trustees and the three permanent members of the faculty declined to accept the new situation till it should have been judicially tested. Governor Plumer, in his message (November 20, 1816), then proceeded to charge these gentlemen with "inculcating resistance to the law" and "disseminating principles of insubordination and rebellion against government;" and he made the mistake of asserting that the law "had been approved by all the constituted authorities of the state," when as yet the judges of the Superior Court, consulted by him, were withholding their opinion, and shortly after declining to give an opinion at that stage of the case.

The legislature was also aroused to pass the drastic act, declaring that "whoever shall presume to exercise any office in Dartmouth University except in subordination to its trustees, under any name or pretext whatsoever, shall forfeit and pay for every offence the sum of \$500," an act, of course, aimed at the faculty of Dartmouth college, and suggesting the times of Charles First. I scarcely need to add that when the case was carried before the Superior Court of New Hampshire, its highest tribunal then, Richardson and Bell on the bench (Woodbury not certainly present), the university was sustained; but in the Supreme Court of the United States that action was reversed (February 2, 1819), and Dartmouth college reinstated.

Dr. Wheelock's course was now nearly run. In 1817 the trustees of the fugitive university appointed him its president. But his health was broken, and in a few weeks he died, leaving half of his large property to Princeton Theological Seminary, and (as stated by Mr. Shirley) \$40,000 to the university.

On account of the controversies that enveloped the closing years of Dr. Wheelock's life, and which had long been brooding, it is no easy task to recognize and characterize him fairly. But having undertaken that task at the request of this Historical Society, I shall frankly state my conclusions, although differing somewhat from my previous opinions. The portrait of Wheelock which hangs in Wilson Hall, though not an original nor the copy of an original, if Dr. Chapman is correct in

saying that a miniature taken at the age of twenty-nine is the only memorial of him, presents a bright and pleasant face. Judge Nathan Crosby, who saw him once in his study in 1815, and frequently on the street during his own freshman year, describes him as "a gentleman of courtly manners, tall and erect, dignified and graceful, of rare conversational powers, and making strong personal friends." Probably Judge Crosby expresses the opinion then current, in saying that "he was a fair scholar and a careful teacher." The eight trustees admit that in the earlier part of his presidency "he pursued his studies with assiduity and at that time he acquired a routine of classical knowledge sufficient to enable him to hear recitations when the students do not depart from the beaten track;" but they say that in later times he had been so absorbed in his own private concerns as to unfit him for high and thorough instruction, and that they had learned from the best scholars of all the classes for four or five years that the recitations he heard "were of no use whatever to the students." They allege that this fact constituted a sufficient reason for his removal from the work of instruction.

As to his intellectual abilities and equipment there are found some quite diverse contemporaneous opinions. In Smith's History of Dartmouth College there is quoted an extraordinary eulogium of him, in which, among two pages of similar material, we read that "he pushed his inquiries into every department of knowledge and made himself conversant with the various branches of science . . . for force of expression he might be compared to Chatham, and in splendid imagery he sometimes rivalled Burke." This unique estimate comes from Samuel C. Allen of the class of 1794, afterwards a member of congress. The opinion of the eight trustees has been already given. Judge Jeremiah Smith, in 1818, wrote concerning a document drawn up by Dr. Wheelock, "I have not sufficient confidence in my own powers to venture on a construction of anything from his pen." We must judge for ourselves from his utterances and procedures.

He appears to have had an impressive manner on public occasions, a popular way in his general intercourse, polite and ceremonious. His success in some of his negotiations,

as with the Scotch trustees of the Indian fund, and with the legislatures of New Hampshire and Vermont, would imply a good degree of persuasive power, although the subsequent complications and dissatisfactions might cast a doubt on the wisdom of the method and the value of the results. As an administrator he labored under extraordinary financial difficulties and should be somewhat leniently judged. But he would have saved himself much and grave trouble by more exact accounts, more rigid methods, and more careful plans of expenditure. One of the commissioners of the Scotch fund, Peter Thatcher, after an investigation in 1794, reported that "he is honest, but has no economy," while doubts even on the first point were raised by some. Certain it is that his lack of careful business methods proved a serious misfortune to him.

As a writer he was able to make an effective, if not always decisive, presentation. His "Sketches" were too plausible for the trustees to leave unanswered, but offered many exposed points for the reply. The style, somewhat stilted, and occasionally tending to inflation; the method, rather rhetorical than logical; and the statements, not always sufficiently guarded, evoked sharp satire in the rejoinder. His writings, like his procedures, it must be confessed, commonly left something to be desired and adjusted. His mental workings had scarcely fitted him for an encounter with strictly legal minds; and perhaps the most marked evidence of his intellectual limitations was his commencing an open controversy with such men as Niles, Paine, and Marsh, all of whom were sooner or later justices of the Supreme Court of Vermont—to say nothing of Thompson, Farrar, McFarland, and Payson. But for that pamphlet, "The Sketches," he might have died in his office.

It is with some hesitation that I speak further of that controversy, but it was the most notable event of his life and of the time, both for this state, and, in its legal aspect, for the nation. At this late day we should be able to estimate it fairly. The papers on both sides are now seen to have been needlessly severe and bitter. That Dr. Wheelock should have put forth a pamphlet so ill-advised as a whole and so unguarded in its details, can be explained only by his misconception of his status, and a morbid state of mind resulting from the frictions

of many years; and that the trustees in their "Vindication" should have retorted in the strain they adopted, is to be accounted for only by their sense of the emergency, and, in the forewarning words of Jeremiah Mason, the "severe irritation they must lately have experienced."

I will not cite the harsh expressions used on either side. But in substance Dr. Wheelock accused the trustees of "misapplication or perversion of funds" in the use of the Phillips endowment, of "prostrating the chartered rights of the presidential office," and of an unjustifiable disregard of his wishes in elections of trustees and instructors.

In their rejoinder, their "Vindication," the trustees devote themselves mainly to a severe and satirical review of his pamphlet; and underlying their entire discussion is the implication,—in addition to their previous formal charges,—that Dr. Wheelock's course of administration had been directed to his own interests and enrichment, and that his financial proceedings had been irresponsible. Perhaps the most damaging thing in their pamphlet, if correct and unexplained, is the statement (*p.* 81) that, as a result, his property cannot be estimated at less than \$100,000, which, as they say, would yield an annual income of \$6,000, "whereas the whole permanent income of the college does not exceed \$1,500." If the implication were well-founded, it raises at once the question why they permitted this process to go on through a long course of years and were not roused to the duty of correcting it until the appearance of his stinging pamphlet,—a question which they find some difficulty in answering,—alleging pecuniary obligations to him, his personal popularity with a considerable portion of the community, and the attendant danger of injuring the institution for a time.

But waiving the manner of the controversy, what of its matter? The eight trustees had formulated five charges as grounds of his removal, namely (in the briefest form): (1) A libellous pamphlet upon the trustees; (2) the claim of excessive powers, executive and electoral; (3) his making on students "an impression" unfavorable to cases of faculty discipline; (4) "manifest fraud in the application of the funds" of the Moor's School in one alleged instance; (5) his having "given rise and

circulation to a report" that "the real cause" of the trouble was "a diversity of religious opinions between him and them." Now Governor Gilman and Judge Jacob in a protest declare that "whatever evidence might exist in the minds of the framers" of the charges, "no evidence was laid before the board of the same, nor any papers whatever relating thereto."

The form of a part of the charges goes to sustain the statement of the protest. And it must now be confessed, I think, that with one exception they were somewhat weak or vague, or both, for the burden they bore—removal from office. The last of the five, "giving rise and circulation to a *report* [not a statement] as to diversity of religious views" and its influence, if proved, was not in that form a libel, and scarcely a heinous offence; and they do not say it was proved, but that "it is manifest to the trustees." So, as to the third charge, "causing an *impression* [notice the word] to be made on the minds" of the students, they only say that "from a variety of circumstances the trustees have had reason to conclude" it to be so,—a way of putting things scarcely to be expected from such able lawyers. The second charge alleges only that he "has set up and insists on" certain excessive claims, which, however, they could and actually did control; while, so far as he had stretched his functions, it was, if not with their assent, yet by their sufferance. The "manifest fraud" consisted in aiding from the fund for the benefit of the Indian tribes "a youth not an Indian, but adopted by an Indian tribe under an Indian name,"—not only a tenuous legal technicality, but out of harmony with the real intent of the fund and with established precedent in its application. The only considerable charge was the libellous pamphlet, a grave offence, and of public notoriety and injurious influence. Had they confined themselves to this one of the charges, or coupled with it, if true, the charge that he had neglected the interests of the college for his own interests, it would have made a more satisfactory showing for the removal. But they would appear to have been stronger in demolishing him and his pamphlet than in the direct justification of their own action.

The trustees, however, effectually dispose of the counter accusations with the exception of one or two, real or apparent.

When they began to resist his excessive claims, after having left him for many years to manage largely in his own way, as has already been indicated, they would seem in their reasoning and their action to have abridged his chartered rights when they summarily, not to say offensively, removed him from the work of instruction while still president of the college. The charter assigns to the president "the immediate care of the education and government" of the students, and to the professors and tutors the duty to "assist the president in the education and government of the students." It may be firmly questioned whether they had any more right to interdict his personal share in the "education" than in the "government" while president; and their justification of either would have been such a showing of incapacity or malfeasance as would require his removal from office. Their appeal to the general power granted them in the charter to "make such ordinances, orders and laws as may tend to the good and wholesome government of said college," etc., did not give them power to override the specific functions expressly granted by the same charter to individual officers, but their power is expressly limited thereby. While president, the functions of president were his.

Dr. Wheelock's accusation, that the trustees perverted the Phillips fund by assigning to the Phillips professor of divinity the work of preaching, they were able to refute by showing it to be apparently within their legal right. Whether it was in conformity with the actual wishes of the donor, as denied by the minority, does not clearly appear, and is not a vital question. Wheelock's other charges consist chiefly of complaints for lack of conformity to his wishes, in taking no part in the church troubles in which he was involved, in not electing as trustees or instructors men whom he preferred and advocated, besides, of course, his removal from the work of instruction.

The instances which he cites, however, show the strength of his personal feelings in such matters, and the inadmissible nature of his expectations and demands. He specifies one trustee elected in preference to his own candidate. The person so elected was Dr. McFarland, a choice needing no defence in this city. He mentions one professor thus elected. It was

Zephaniah Swift Moore, afterwards president of Williams College, and of Amherst College. He complains in like manner in regard to two tutors. Who were they? One, elected against his wishes after several ballots, by a majority of one, was Francis Brown, afterwards the distinguished president of Dartmouth. The other proposed tutor, strongly opposed by him and therefore withdrawn, was Daniel Poor, one of the best scholars in his class, known to be "a modest and pious young man," afterwards one of the ablest and brightest missionaries of the American Board in Ceylon. The cases speak for themselves.

The somewhat irresponsible way in which he could proceed, and, it must be added, was permitted to proceed through a large part of his administration, appears not only in the expenditures unchecked and unaccounted for, as in the erection of Dartmouth Hall, the unreported expedition abroad, the gradual disappearance of the college lands; but is illustrated quite distinctly in his three negotiations with the legislatures of New Hampshire and Vermont, already mentioned, all of which he clearly managed in his own way and for his own personal control, and with unfortunate results all round.

All these things tend to one point. They go to show that the specific charges and separate grounds of controversy were but subordinate incidents in one fundamental issue. And what was that issue in its matured form? It was the question of the legitimate relation of the president and the trustees, respectively, to the college. It was hardly a question of "family ascendancy," as Mr. Chase suggests in his history, but more nearly as Judge Crosby finally states it, "the transfer of personal to public power;" or, better still, of the subordination of personal control to constituted authority, where both parties had long been acting on a wrong basis, and the one party was at length convinced of the error by painful experience, and the other adhered to his error. The Trustees put it somewhat strongly in their "Vindication": "The President claims to be the sole executive of the corporation, to control the power of appointment both of members of the Faculty and of the Board of Trustees," and, they add, "the exclusive exercise of the judicial power."

It was not altogether unnatural that Dr. Wheelock should

have fallen into an erroneous view of his functions. His noble father had been, by force of circumstances, obliged and permitted to exercise all manner of responsibilities, or the enterprise must have failed. He was compelled to fall back on his friends, and relatives, too, in a work of such heavy burdens and doubtful prospects. The original board of trustees included six of his neighbors and friends in Connecticut, five of them clergymen; and their places when vacant were in part filled by Messrs. Woodward and Ripley, his sons-in-law; Dr. McClure, the husband of his niece; and Rev. Eden Burroughs, his special friend and advocate. In threading the way through the labyrinth of the college's early struggles, the trustees had necessarily left the management and responsibility mainly in his hands. When John Wheelock came to the office he not unnaturally fell into his father's ways, and for a long course of years, as the "Vindication" shows, the board by its acquiescence may be said to have encouraged him in it. And when at last from necessity, and the introduction of new elements into the board, restrictions were laid upon him, they would seem to have been needlessly severe, if defensible. To deprive him of his instruction, without even a conference with him, was hardly treating the president of the college with the consideration due to a transient tutor. Dr. Wheelock's great mistake was in supposing that he could demand all the functions and responsibilities which had been forced upon his father. He had neither his father's remarkable sagacity and ability, his history, nor his relation to the enterprise. The times, the men, the situation, all were changed. All the conflicts in church matters, in connection with the Charity School, in the Board, and in the faculty, and over the funds, can now be seen to be but the one struggle for a personal control, in which he was predestined to be defeated; and his eyes were holden that he should not see the situation. He should have retreated when he was defeated, and he did not.

Meanwhile, it is by no means certain that the trustees were not precipitate and unwise in their action. It is a significant fact that Jeremiah Mason, on learning the intention to remove Dr. Wheelock, eleven days before the action took place wrote a long letter to Charles Marsh of the Board of Trust, dissuading him from such action, at any rate, at that time. He advised to

wait for the proposed investigation by the legislature, invited by Wheelock; and first to make an exposure of the alleged incorrectness of the complaints, declaring that such an exposure, if valid, would destroy all power of harm in Wheelock. He also warned them of the hostilities certain to be aroused by hasty action, on the part of "the professed friends of liberal religion, most of the Baptists and Methodists and all the Nothingsians," in view of the "religious grievances" alleged in the "Sketches." He adds, "The Democrats will be against you, of course," and he closes with a reiterated caution against action taken or supposed to be taken under "severe irritation." His advice was not adopted. It was not "a word and a blow." The blow came before the word. They removed the president, and a month later published their "Vindication." Providence would soon have settled the removal, for in eighteen months Wheelock had passed away.

Mason's warning proved true. The college entered, as Judge Crosby puts it, on "a perilous night" in which "the terrors of poverty and a wide-spread opposition hovered over her future." Apparently there was long estrangement on sectarian grounds. Certainly for more than a generation the Democratic party was against the college. Thus, for example, that emphatic Democrat, Gen. Benjamin Pierce of Hillsborough, sent his son, Franklin, at much inconvenience, to Bowdoin college; otherwise Dartmouth would have had among her alumni one actual president of the United States in addition to the one that ought to have been. The class of 1815, the year of Wheelock's removal, was smaller than any for the preceding quarter of a century, while the class of 1811, just before the trouble culminated, was not equalled for the next quarter of a century. Had Dr. Wheelock possessed intellectual powers equal to his controversial spirit, or been a man of his father's Samson-like strength, he might possibly have dragged down the college over his head. Indeed, embarrassments were created that took a generation and cost one president's life to overcome. So depressing was the resulting condition of the college, that, after the decision of the Supreme Court in its favor, President Brown wrote to Daniel Webster suggesting the surrender of the college to the state; and appar-

ently it was Mr. Webster's emphatic reply, which I have seen, that counteracted the disposition so to do. And though the college has been the chief glory of the state, the state has done but little for the college. Its funds are chiefly a benefaction from outside the state.

But Providence so ordered that not only was the college finally rescued, although possibly to a more restricted sphere, and to fall permanently behind Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, then only its equals, but out of the stormy strife there emerged that great landmark and lighthouse, the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dartmouth College Case. How much more nearly the institution would have kept pace with its contemporaries in the race but for that unfortunate epoch in its history, no one can tell. If so, its loss was the gain of the whole body of literary institutions. But whatever may have been the errors or shortcomings of Dr. John Wheelock, and however lamentable the last and greatest mistake of his life, they should not hide from us the fact that under his long administration the college was sustained "upon slender funds, few books, and insignificant apparatus," maintaining a high reputation and sending forth a body of well-trained graduates, some ripe scholars, and not a few distinguished men. It is profoundly to be regretted that his office and his life should have closed under so heavy a cloud.

After-wisdom is cheap and easy wisdom; but it is not without its uses. It was on the great battle-field of Gettysburg, as Longstreet has since said, that "General Lee lost his poise;" and on another great battle-field of the charge of the Light Brigade it has been written in memorable words, "somebody blundered." After the lapse of three quarters of a century we can look back on the conflict that raged through every portion and every function of New Hampshire and say that, as usual in great excitements, most of the combatants lost their poise; it was a whole chapter of blunders, not a "comedy," but almost a tragedy of "errors." Dr. Wheelock blundered; the trustees of Dartmouth College blundered; Governor Plumer blundered; the legislature of New Hampshire blundered; and if the Supreme Court of the United States was right, the Superior Court of New Hampshire also blundered. Two men of

New Hampshire came forth from the thickest of that far-reaching conflict with undimmed and lasting honors,—Francis Brown, the admirable president of the college, a man of luminous intellect and unerring judgment, who met the issue, in the words of Rufus Choate, with “the rarest qualities of temper, discretion, tact, and command,” but who came forth with a broken constitution to an early grave; and that other, who then emerged into national renown, the man of mighty intellect, massive statesmanship, and consummate oratory, the boast of the college, the pride of New Hampshire, the champion of the national honor—the defender of the Dartmouth charter and the great defender of the Constitution.

At the close of the address Hon. Lyman D. Stevens moved, and it was unanimously voted, that the thanks of the society be presented to Dr. Bartlett for his very able, intensely interesting, and highly instructive address, and that a copy of the same be requested for publication in the Proceedings of the society.

At 9 o'clock the society adjourned, subject to the call of the president.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

NECROLOGY
OF THE
NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ELI E. GRAVES, M. D., NECROLOGIST.

ISAAC K. GAGE.

Isaac Kimball Gage was born in Boscawen on the 27th of October, 1818, and resided there, with the exception of one brief interval, until his death on the 10th of September, 1894.

The son of William Hazeltine Gage of Sanbornton and Boscawen, he was of the sixth generation from John Gage of Stoneham, Suffolk, England, who came to America with John Winthrop, Jr., landed at Salem, June 12, 1630, and became one of the twelve proprietors of Ipswich. His mother was Miss Polly Morrison of Sanbornton.

The foundations of his education were laid in the district schools of his native town and at Boscawen and Franklin academies. The superstructure, as in the case of many of New Hampshire's ablest and most honored sons, was the mental and moral increment of a wholesome, intelligent, and industrious life.

In 1842 he married Susan G., daughter of Reuben Johnson of Fisherville, who together with four¹ children survives him.

From 1841 to 1850 he was engaged in trade in Fisherville, removing thereafter to Lawrence, Mass., where he entered the employ of the Essex Co. When the first city government was organized in Lawrence in 1852 he was elected to the common council and was president of that body in 1853. He returned

¹ Mary M., wife of Milton W. Wilson, died Feb. 14, 1895.

to Boscawen in 1854, and as a member of the firm of Gage, Porter & Co., was engaged in the manufacture of saws. From 1857 until his death his time and his energies were variously occupied, being devoted to both public and private concerns with exemplary zeal and intelligence. He was an extensive landed proprietor, largely occupied as farmer and dairyman; serving the community also in the capacity of insurance agent, and notary public.

Mr. Gage's active interest in all projects for promoting the general comfort and prosperity of the communities in which he dwelt marked him early as a public-spirited man in the best meaning of that term, and his talent and energy were in constant public demand. In addition to the services already noted, and the frequent calls to fill places of public trust and responsibility in his native town, it was his privilege to render valuable service in wider and more conspicuous fields. From 1865 to 1869 he was treasurer of the New England Agricultural Society. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1876, and was for many years the secretary of the New Hampshire Orphans' Home. He joined the New Hampshire Historical Society in 1872, and always evinced a deep and practical interest in all things relating to the past history and future welfare of his native state. He long enjoyed a noteworthy reputation as a genealogist, in which department of historical lore he was an enthusiastic and painstaking investigator. In 1876 Dartmouth College bore fitting testimony to his personal worth and public services by conferring upon him the degree of A. M.

As man and citizen Mr. Gage was a conspicuous example of all that is praiseworthy in New England life and character. The esteem and confidence of his fellow-citizens was his in virtue of qualities of mind and heart which always debar their possessor from a merely casual or perfunctory relation to society.

No character could be more strongly individualized; but his individuality was not of the kind that isolates by the incongruity of its elements. It was such as equips for distinguished service, and it identified him with that public life to whose needs and interests it had powers to correspond.

He was public-spirited, conservative, yet progressive, eager to test new principles and methods, and to adopt such as survived the ordeal of experiment. With warmth of heart and keenness of mind, he combined a firmness and tenacity of will which insured the success of whatever cause he espoused under conviction of its value or its justice. Withal his motives were always high, and his methods honorable, so that he invariably won respect even where he could not command agreement.

Honest and upright in conduct, clear-headed and true-hearted in character, genial, sunny, and hospitable in temper, he was a good man, a true citizen, a faithful friend, and a generous and dignified host. He has left upon kindred, friends, and neighbors the impress of a life strong, useful, well-balanced, and directed to worthy and enduring ends.

DANIEL F. SECOMB.

Daniel Franklin Secomb, a member of the New Hampshire Historical Society from June, 1876, and acting Librarian from 1875 until 1884, was born in Amherst, N. H., January 17, 1820, and died at Concord, N. H., January 14, 1895. He was the fifth child of John and Rachel Durant Secombe, and of the sixth generation in descent from Richard Secomb, born in Cornwall, England, in 1645, who arrived in Boston, October, 1680, and settled in Lynn. In 1848, he removed from Amherst to Concord, where he ever after lived, being engaged for several years in the manufacture of musical instruments. He served faithfully in both branches of the city council from 1867 to 1870 inclusive, and possessed a thorough knowledge of city affairs, in which he took a deep interest. To him this Society is largely indebted for sorting and putting in presentable and usable shape its wealth of papers and pamphlets, during the years that he was its acting Librarian. His taste for work in historic line was marked, and his memory of events was phenomenal. He prepared a history of Amherst, which was published in 1882, and for which the town appropriated five hundred dollars, at its annual meeting in 1880, by a unanimous vote. In 1882, he was appointed librarian of the city library, a position which he filled with much ability to his death. Rarely does it fall to the lot of one man to fill a librarian's position for so many years in two such valuable libraries as did Mr. Secomb, and this fact bears better testimony than words to his work and worth as librarian and man. He was twice married, first to Fanny C. Herrick, December 11, 1850, who died in 1859, and second, to Eliza A. (Damrell) Gordon, February 28, 1860. One daughter, Mary Grace, survives him.

BENJAMIN F. PRESCOTT.

Benjamin Franklin Prescott, a member of the New Hampshire Historical Society from June 11, 1862, was born in Epping, February 26, 1833, and died in the same town February 21, 1895. He was the only son of Nathan Gove and Betsey Hills (Richards) Prescott, and was born upon the homestead farm on which his great-great-grandfather settled about the time of his marriage in 1757. Until he was fifteen years of age he remained at home, working upon the farm, and attending the common school for a few weeks in summer and winter. During part of 1848 and 1849 he attended Blanchard Academy in Pembroke, and in 1850 went to Phillips Academy at Exeter, where he remained three years, when he entered the Sophomore class of Dartmouth college, and graduated in the class of 1856. He taught school in Chester in the winter of 1855, and in his native town in the autumn and winter of 1856-'57. In February, 1857, he entered the law office of Henry A. & A. H. Bellows, in Concord; was admitted to the bar August 19, 1859; immediately opened an office in Concord, where he pursued his profession until May, 1861, when, upon the appointment of Hon. George G. Fogg as United States Minister Resident to Switzerland, he became associate editor of the *Independent Democrat*, which position he held for about five years.

He took active interest in political matters early in life, serving as secretary of the Republican State Central Committee for some fifteen years; secretary of the College of Electors six times from 1860 to 1880; special agent of the United States Treasury Department from January, 1865, for two years, and again from March 23, 1869, for one year. He was elected

secretary of state in 1872, 1873, 1875, and 1876, and governor of New Hampshire in 1877 and 1878, filling both positions ably and honorably. In 1880 he was chosen a delegate to the Republican National Convention, held in Chicago, which nominated James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur as candidates for president and vice-president. In 1887 he was appointed a railroad commissioner, and held the position for six years.

He took great interest in educational and historical matters, and to him, more than any other man, is our state indebted for the valuable collection of portraits of its governors in the council chamber, and of other distinguished officials and residents of New Hampshire, to be found in the State Capitol, at Phillips academy, and at Dartmouth college. His interest in this Society was unabated through his long membership, and he served it as second vice president in 1873-'74, as first vice president from 1875 to 1880, and as one of the Publishing Committee in 1891. In 1876 he was made a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain, and the same year was elected president of the Bennington Battle Monument Association. He had the supreme satisfaction of being present at, and participating in, the laying of the corner stone and dedication of that monument, and in his addresses there, and upon other occasions, he did much to place before the public the honorable, historic record of New Hampshire men in the past. In 1874 he was made a trustee of the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, and of Dartmouth college in 1878, both of which positions he held to his death. June 10, 1869, he married Mary Little Noyes, of Concord, N. H., who survives him, as does an only son, Benjamin F. Prescott.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY,

FROM 1823 TO 1895.

PRESIDENTS.

Ichabod Bartlett,	1823	Levi Chamberlain,	1852
William Plumer,	1823	William Plumer,	1854
Levi Woodbury,	1825	Chandler E. Potter,	1855
Ichabod Bartlett,	1826	Edwin D. Sanborn,	1857
Salma Hale,	1830	Joseph Dow,	1860
Matthew Harvey,	1832	William H. Y. Hackett,	1861
Charles H. Atherton,	1834	Joseph B. Walker,	1866
Joel Parker,	1838	Charles H. Bell,	1868
Nathaniel Bouton,	1842	Jonathan E. Sargent,	1887
Nathaniel G. Upham,	1844	Samuel C. Eastman,	1889
Samuel D. Bell,	1847	John J. Bell,	1891
Charles Burroughs,	1849	Amos Hadley,	1893

FIRST VICE PRESIDENTS.

William Plumer, Jr.,	1823	Edwin D. Sanborn,	1855
Levi Woodbury,	1823	Joseph Dow,	1857
William Plumer, Jr.,	1825	William H. Y. Hackett,	1860
Salma Hale,	1829	Joseph B. Walker,	1861
Matthew Harvey,	1830	Asa McFarland,	1866
Charles H. Atherton,	1832	William L. Foster,	1868
Joel Parker,	1834	Benjamin F. Prescott,	1875
Nathaniel Bouton,	1838	Natt Head,	1880
Nathaniel G. Upham,	1844	Jonathan E. Sargent,	1882
Samuel D. Bell,	1847	Samuel C. Eastman,	1887
Henry Hubbard,	1845	George L. Balcom,	1889
Levi Chamberlain,	1849	John J. Bell,	1890
Charles H. Peaslee,	1849	Amos Hadley,	1891
Chandler E. Potter,	1852	Benjamin A. Kimball,	1893

SECOND VICE PRESIDENTS.

Bennet Tyler,	1823	Levi Chamberlain,	1857
Salma Hale,	1826	Joseph B. Walker,	1860
Matthew Harvey,	1829	Asa McFarland,	1861
Charles H. Atherton,	1830	Franklin Pierce,	1866
Parker Noyes,	1832	John M. Shirley,	1868
Nathaniel Bouton,	1834	Benjamin F. Prescott,	1873
Nathaniel G. Upham,	1838	Jonathan E. Sargent,	1875
Samuel D. Bell,	1842	John M. Shirley,	1882
Levi Chamberlain,	1844	George L. Balcom,	1887
Jared W. Williams,	1847	John J. Bell,	1889
Edwin D. Sanborn,	1849	Amos Hadley,	1890
Asa McFarland,	1852	Benjamin A. Kimball,	1891
Nathaniel B. Baker,	1855	George L. Balcom,	1893
Joseph Dow,	1856		

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

John Kelley,	1823	Dyer H. Sanborn,	1858
Moses Eastman,	1831	William F. Goodwin,	1859
Moses G. Thomas,	1834	William L. Foster,	1862
Asa McFarland,	1841	Samuel C. Eastman,	1867
Franklin Pierce,	1843	Parsons B. Cogswell,	1872
Edmund Worth,	1845	Amos Hadley,	1874
Joseph B. Walker,	1849	Charles R. Corning,	1890
Amos Hadley,	1853	John C. Ordway,	1891
Asa McFarland,	1857		

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

Nathaniel A. Haven, Jr.,	1823	George G. Fogg,	1878
John Farmer,	1825	John J. Bell,	1880
Ira Perley,	1839	Charles L. Tappan,	1888
Moses G. Thomas,	1841	Sylvester Dana,	1889
Nathaniel Bouton,	1844		

TREASURERS.

George Kent,	1823	Joseph C. A. Wingate,	1860
Samuel Sparhawk,	1825	Edward Sawyer,	1862
George Kent,	1830	William R. Walker,	1865
Samuel Fletcher,	1837	Charles W. Sargent,	1869

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

435

Asa McFarland,	1839	Samuel S. Kimball,	1875
Ebenezer E. Cummings,	1844	William P. Fiske,	1885
Ebenezer S. Towle,	1845		

LIBRARIANS.

Jacob B. Moore,	1823	Charles W. Sargent,	1867
Moses Eastman,	1830	Benjamin P. Stone,	1868
Abner B. Kelley,	1835	William H. Kimball,	1871
Jacob B. Moore,	1837	Nathaniel Bouton,	1872
Nathaniel Bouton,	1841	Samuel C. Eastman,	1873
Joseph B. Walker,	1845	Daniel F. Secomb (Acting),	
William Prescott,	1850	Isaac W. Hammond,	1887
William F. Goodwin,	1860	Charles L. Tappan,	1890

NECROLOGISTS.

Irving A. Watson,	1885	Eli E. Graves,	1894
Joseph B. Walker,	1889		

AUDITORS.

John Farmer,	1823	John J. Bell, }	1866
Richard Bartlett,	1824	John M. Shirley, }	
George Kent,	1825		
Henry B. Chase,	1826	Abel Hutchins, }	1867
Richard Bartlett,	1827	Parsons B. Cogswell, }	
Jacob B. Moore,	1832		
Samuel Fletcher,	1833	Parsons B. Cogswell, }	1868
Sidney P. Webster,	1834	Abel Hutchins, }	
Abner B. Kelley,	1835		
Thomas Chadbourne,	1836	Abel Hutchins, }	1872
Richard Bradley,	1839	John A. Harris, }	
Samuel Fletcher,	1841		
Ira Perley,	1842	Woodbridge Odlin, }	1875
Francis N. Fisk,	1849	Joseph C. A. Hill, }	
James M. Rix, }	1850	Woodbridge Odlin, }	1878
Samuel Coffin, }		Arthur Fletcher, }	
Matthew Harvey,	1852	Woodbridge Odlin,	1882
Joseph B. Walker,	1855	Isaac K. Gage,	1888-1894
Ebenezer E. Cummings,	1861		
Francis N. Fisk,	1862		
Ebenezer S. Towle, }	1865		
Moses H. Bradley, }			

STANDING COMMITTEE.

Nathaniel Adams, } Nathan Parker, } Hosea Hildreth, }	* 1823	Ebenezer E. Cummings, } Richard Bradley, } Petrus S. Ten Broeck, }	1841
Nathaniel Adams, } Nathan Parker, } Oliver W. B. Peabody, }	1825	Ebenezer E. Cummings, } Frank Pierce, } Petrus S. Ten Broeck, }	1842
Oliver W. B. Peabody, } Matthew Harvey, } Henry B. Chase, }	1826	Asa McFarland, } Petrus S. Ten Broeck, } Salma Hale, }	1844
Matthew Harvey, } Oliver W. B. Peabody, } Henry B. Chase, }	1827	Asa McFarland, } Salma Hale, } William Prescott, }	1845
William Prescott, } Parker Noyes, } Richard Bartlett, }	1829	William Prescott, } Ebenezer E. Cummings, } Ebenezer S. Towle, }	1848
William Prescott, } James Bartlett, } Alexander Ladd, }	1830	Asa McFarland, } Salma Hale, } William Prescott, }	1849
Richard Bartlett, } Andrew Peirce, } Henry B. Chase, }	1831	Asa McFarland, } Salma Hale, } Joshua W. Pierce, }	1850
Jacob B. Moore, } Moses G. Thomas, } Moses Long, }	1832	Asa McFarland, } Joshua W. Pierce, } Chandler E. Potter, }	1851
Nathaniel G. Upham, } Jacob B. Moore, } Samuel Fletcher, }	1834	Daniel Lancaster, } Joshua W. Pierce, } Richard Bradley, }	1852
Nathaniel G. Upham, } Jacob B. Moore, } Samuel D. Bell, }	1837	Daniel Lancaster, } Joseph B. Walker, } William H. Bartlett, }	1853
William A. Kent, } Samuel D. Bell, } Philip Carrigain, }	1838	Daniel Lancaster, } Joseph B. Walker, } Ebenezer E. Cummings, }	1854
Thomas Chadbourne, } Petrus S. Ten Broeck, } Ebenezer E. Cummings, }	1840	Asa McFarland, } Joseph B. Walker, } Ebenezer E. Cummings, }	1856

Joseph B. Walker, } Ebenezer E. Cummings, } Asa McFarland, }	1858	Joseph B. Walker, } Ebenezer S. Towle, } William B. Towne, }	1871
Benjamin P. Stone, } George W. Smith, } Joseph B. Walker, }	1860	Joseph B. Walker, } Ebenezer S. Towle, } Enoch Gerrish, }	1872
Benjamin P. Stone, } Joseph B. Walker, } William Prescott, }	1861	Joseph B. Walker, } Joseph C. A. Hill, } Sylvester Dana, }	1878
Benjamin P. Stone, } William Prescott, } Samuel C. Eastman, }	1866	Joseph B. Walker, } Sylvester Dana, } Joseph C. A. Hill, }	1880
William Prescott, } Samuel C. Eastman, } George W. Murry, }	1869	Joseph B. Walker, } Joseph C. A. Hill, } Isaac K. Gage, }	1887
Samuel C. Eastman, } Austin F. Pike, } Joseph B. Walker, }	1869	Joseph B. Walker, } Joseph C. A. Hill, } Howard L. Porter, }	1888-1894

PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

William Plumer, Jr., } Parker Noyes, } John Farmer, }	1823	William Prescott, } John Farmer, } Nathaniel Bouton, }	1832
James F. Dana, } Richard Bartlett, } George Kent, }	1825	John Farmer, } Nathaniel Bouton, } Isaac Hill, }	1833
Richard Bartlett, } William Plumer, Jr., } Jacob B. Moore, }	1826	Nathaniel Bouton, } John Kelley, } Isaac Hill, }	1839
John Farmer, } Richard Bartlett, } George Kent, }	1829	Nathaniel Bouton, } Isaac Hill, } John Kelley, }	1841
Richard Bartlett, } John Farmer, } Jacob B. Moore, }	1830	Joel Parker, } Isaac Hill, } John Kelley, }	1842
John Farmer, } Richard Bartlett, } Jacob B. Moore, }	1831	Joel Parker, } Nathaniel Bouton, } William Cogswell, }	1844

Joel Parker,	}	1846	Samuel D. Bell,	}	1868
Nathaniel Bouton,			Chandler E. Potter,		
Alexander Ladd,			William L. Foster,		
Nathaniel Bouton,	}	1848	William L. Foster,	}	1869
Alexander Ladd,			John J. Bell,		
Asa McFarland,			Samuel C. Eastman,		
Joseph B. Walker,					
William Cogswell,	}	1849	William L. Foster,	}	1875
Nathaniel Bouton,			John J. Bell,		
Alexander Ladd,			William B. Towne,		
Nathaniel Bouton,	}	1850	William L. Foster,	}	1876
Alexander Ladd,			John J. Bell,		
James M. Rix,			Albert R. Hatch,		
Nathaniel Bouton,	}	1851	William L. Foster,	}	1878
James M. Rix,			John J. Bell,		
John Kelley,			John M. Shirley,		
William Plumer,	}	1854	William L. Foster,	}	1879
Nathaniel Bouton,			John J. Bell,		
James M. Rix,			Erastus P. Jewell,		
Nathaniel Bouton,	}	1855	William L. Foster,	}	1881
James M. Rix,			John J. Bell,		
Edmund Worth,			Jonathan E. Sargent,		
Nathaniel Bouton,	}	1856	William L. Foster,	}	1882
Edmund Worth,			John J. Bell,		
Asa McFarland,			Moses T. Runnels,		
Nathaniel Bouton,	}	1857	Charles H. Bell,	}	1884
Asa McFarland,			Amos Hadley,		
Dyer H. Sanborn,			Samuel C. Eastman,		
Samuel D. Bell,	}	1860	Charles H. Bell,	}	1887
William F. Goodwin,			Isaac W. Hammond,		
Nathaniel Bouton,			Albert S. Batchellor,		
Samuel D. Bell,	}	1862	Charles H. Bell,	}	1890
Nathaniel Bouton,			*Isaac W. Hammond,		
Ebenezer E. Cummings,			Charles L. Tappan,		
			(Acting)		
Samuel D. Bell,	}	1867	George L. Balcom,	}	
Ebenezer E. Cummings,					
William L. Foster,					

*Died, 1890.

Charles H. Bell,	}	1891	Charles L. Tappan,	}	1893
Benjamin F. Prescott,			John L. Farwell,		
George L. Balcom,			Albert S. Wait,		
Albert S. Batchellor,	}	1892	Charles L. Tappan,	}	1894
Charles L. Tappan,			John C. Ordway,		
George L. Balcom,			Albert S. Wait,		

LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

Joseph B. Walker,	}	1873	Jonathan E. Pecker,	}	1887
John J. Bell,			Edward H. Spalding,		
Samuel C. Eastman,			John C. Ordway,		
Joseph B. Walker,	}	1876	Jonathan E. Pecker,	}	1888
John J. Bell,			John C. Ordway,		
John A. Harris,			Edson C. Eastman,		
Joseph B. Walker,	}	1878	Jonathan E. Pecker,	}	1889
John J. Bell,			John C. Ordway,		
James DeNormandie,			Charles L. Tappan,		
Joseph B. Walker,	}	1879	John C. Ordway,	}	1890
Daniel F. Secomb,			Samuel C. Eastman,		
James DeNormandie,			Jonathan E. Pecker,		
Joseph B. Walker,	}	1880	John J. Bell,	}	1891
James DeNormandie,			Jonathan E. Pecker,		
Samuel C. Eastman,			Nathan F. Carter,		
Amos Hadley,	}	1882	John J. Bell,	}	1892
Parsons B. Cogswell,			Nathan F. Carter,		
Samuel C. Eastman,			Jonathan E. Pecker,		
Amos Hadley,	}	1884	Albert S. Batchellor,	}	1893-1894
Edward H. Spalding,			Nathan F. Carter,		
Jonathan E. Pecker,			Jonathan E. Pecker,		

HONORARY MEMBERS,

1874 TO 1895.

[Continued from Vol. 1, Page 18.]

		<i>Elected.</i>
Adams, George Franklin, Secretary of Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas,		Oct. 13, 1892
Amory, Thomas C., Hon. Boston, Mass.,		June 10, 1874
Andrews, Israel W. Marietta, Ohio,		June 11, 1884
Bellas, Henry Hobart, Capt., U. S. A. Germantown, Philadelphia, Penn.,		Oct. 4, 1894
Beljame, U., Prof. Paris, France,		June 14, 1876
Bouton, Christopher Bell Chicago, Illinois,		Oct. 3, 1893
Broglie, Duc de Paris, France,		June 11, 1884
Buddy, Charles R. Denton, Texas,		June 11, 1884
Chamberlain, Mellen, Hon. Boston, Mass.,		Sept. 30, 1887
Clapp, William W., Hon. Boston, Mass.,		Dec. 20, 1888
Curtis, George T., Hon. New York City,		June 9, 1880
Gibson, Miss Emma Elizabeth Medford, Mass.,		June 8, 1881
Gilman, Daniel C., Pres't. Baltimore, Maryland,		June 9, 1880
Holmes, William F. Castleton, Dakota,		June 11, 1884
Hotchkiss, William H., M. D. New Haven, Conn.,		June 11, 1884
Hough, Franklin B., Hon. New York City,		June 13, 1883
Howard, Cecil Hamden Cutts Brooklyn, N. Y.,		Oct. 13, 1892
Hubbard, Adolphus Skinner, Col. San Francisco, Cal.,		Oct. 4, 1894
Hubbard, Oliver P., Prof. New York City,		June 12, 1889
Lamb, Mrs. Martha J. New York City,		Sept. 5, 1888
Lainsbury, W. Noel, Esq. Assistant keeper of Her Majesty's Records, London, England,		June 12, 1889

HONORARY MEMBERS.

441

Marshall, Jonathan	New York City,	June	9, 1880
McCauley, William, Hon.	Salem, Roanoke Co., Va.,	June	8, 1881
Potter, Mrs. Francis Mc Niel	Brooklyn, N. Y.,	June	8, 1881
Preble, George H., Rear-Adm'l	Brookline, Mass.,	June	9, 1880
Prime, William C.	New York City,	June	8, 1881
Richardson, William A., Hon.	Washington, D. C.,	June	9, 1886
Sawyer, Nathaniel J., M. D.	Frankfort, Kentucky,	June	11, 1884
Snow, Marshall S., Prof.	St. Louis, Mo.,	June	13, 1894
Stedman, Edmund Clarence	New York City,	June	7, 1885
Stephens, B. F.	London, England,	June	12, 1889
Tuttle, Charles W., Esq.	Boston, Mass.,	June	9, 1880
Walker, Nathaniel U.	Boston, Mass.,	June	11, 1884
Watson, Alexander T., M. D.	Dresden, Saxony,	June	14, 1876
Webster, N. B., Prof.	Norfolk, Va.,	June	9, 1880
Wentworth, John, Hon.	Chicago, Illinois,	Oct.	1, 1884
Willey, William Lithgow, Capt.	Boston, Mass.,	Oct.	4, 1894
Winslow, William Copley, Rev., D. C. L., LL. D.	Boston, Mass.,	June	13, 1894
Winthrop, Robert C., Hon.	Boston, Mass.,	June	8, 1881

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS,

1874 TO 1895.

Barrows, Charles D., Rev.	Lowell, Mass.,	June 9, 1880
Belknap, George Eugene, Capt.	Pensacola, Florida,	June 11, 1879
Boyd, Francis, Esq.	Boston, Mass.,	June 13, 1883
Brown, John B., Gen.	Portland, Me.,	June 11, 1879
Burton, George T., Esq.	Boston, Mass.,	June 14, 1893
Butterfield, Henry L., M. D.	Waupun, Wis.,	June 13, 1877
Butterfield, J. Ware	Florence, Kan.,	Nov. 15, 1888
Cameron, Angus, Hon.	La Crosse, Wis.,	June 11, 1879
Cate, Eliza J., Miss	Northampton, Mass.,	June 9, 1880
Cilley, Jonathan	Thomaston, Me.,	June 13, 1877
Cilley, Jacob G., Mrs.	Cambridge, Mass.,	June 13, 1883
Crump, William C.	New London, Conn.,	June 11, 1879
Cutter, William R.	Woburn, Mass.,	June 14, 1882
Dana, Edmund L., Hon.	Wilkesbarre, Pa.,	June 11, 1879
Darling, Charles W., Gen.	Oneida, N. Y.,	June 10, 1885
Dean, John Ward	Boston, Mass.,	June 10, 1874
Dinsmoor, James, Esq.	Sterling, Ill.,	June 14, 1893
Dinsmore, William	New York City,	June 8, 1881
Eastman, Edmund T., M. D.	Boston, Mass.,	June 14, 1882
Elliott, George M.	Lowell, Mass.,	June 11, 1879
Ellis, George E., D. D.	Boston, Mass.,	June 11, 1879
Elwell, Edward H., Hon.	Portland, Me.,	Sept. 5, 1888
Emery, George E.	Lynn, Mass.,	June 14, 1882
Emmons, John L.	Boston, Mass.,	June 14, 1882
Fearing, Albert, Hon.	Hingham, Mass.,	June 10, 1874
Fogg, Jennie Bouton, Mrs.	South Weymouth, Mass.,	June 11, 1890

Fogg, William Perry	Cleveland, O.,	June 12, 1878
Folsom, A. A.	Boston, Mass.,	June 8, 1887
Fox, Gustavus V.	Lowell, Mass.,	June 14, 1876
Gibson, Ellen, Miss Rev.	Barre, Mass.,	June 14, 1882
Gilman, Bradley, Rev.	Springfield, Mass.,	June 14, 1893
Gilman, J. T., M. D.	Portland, Me.,	June 8, 1881
Goodell, Abner C.,	Salem, Mass.,	June 8, 1881
Gordon, George A.	Lowell, Mass.,	June 12, 1878
Greenough, Charles P.	Boston, Mass.,	June 9, 1880
Hale, George S., Hon.	Boston, Mass.,	June 8, 1881
Harvey, Peter, Hon.	Boston, Mass.,	June 9, 1875
Haskell, Edwin B.	Boston, Mass.,	June 10, 1874
Haynes, Henry W., Prof.	Boston, Mass.,	June 9, 1880
Hewey, Hetta M., Miss	New Bedford, Mass.,	June 11, 1890
Hill, Horatio,	Chicago, Ill.,	Oct. 6, 1885
Hobart, Harrison C., Gen.	Milwaukee, Wis.,	June 8, 1887
Huguët-Latour, L. A., Major,	Montreal,	June 8, 1881
Hutchinson, Charles W., Hon.	Utica, N. Y.	June 12, 1876
Jameson, Ephraim O., Rev.	Millis, Mass.,	June 9, 1886
Jenness, John S.	New York City,	June 9, 1875
Ketchum, Silas, Rev.	Maplewood, Mass.,	June 14, 1876
Kingsley, William L.	New Haven, Conn.,	June 10, 1874
Landham, Alfred	Montreal,	June 9, 1875
Le Bosquet, John, Rev.	Southville, Mass.	June 11, 1884
Littlefield, George E.	Boston, Mass.,	Nov. 15, 1888
Mason, John Edwin, M. D.	Washington, D. C.,	June 21, 1888
Mason, Robert M.	Boston, Mass.,	June 10, 1874
McClintock, John N., Esq.	Boston, Mass.,	June 14, 1893
McMurphy, J. G., Rev.	Racine, Wis.,	June 13, 1894
Merrill, Samuel, Hon.	Des Moines, Ia.	June 14, 1882
Parsons, Calvin	Wilkesbarre, Pa.,	June 11, 1879
Peabody, Charles A., Hon.	New York City,	June 9, 1875
Perry, John T.	Cincinnati, O.,	June 12, 1878
Pierce, Fred. C., Col.	Rockford, Ill.,	Oct. 6, 1885
Poore, Ben Perley,	Newburyport, Mass.,	June 11, 1879
Porter, Edward G., Rev.	Lexington, Mass.,	June 14, 1882

Prescott, Addison,	Topeka, Kan.,	June 8, 1881
Prescott, John H., Hon.,	Salina, Kan.,	June 14, 1882
Quincy, Edmund,	Dedham, Mass.,	June 10, 1874
Raikes, G. A., Major	London, Eng.,	June 8, 1887
Rollins, Daniel	Boston, Mass.,	June 13, 1883
Rollins, Edward A., Hon.	Philadelphia, Pa.,	June 11, 1879
Savage, James W.	Omaha, Neb.,	June 9, 1875
Seward, J. L., Rev.	Lowell, Mass.,	June 8, 1881
Slafter, Edmund F., Rev., D.D.	Boston, Mass.,	June 8, 1881
Spaulding, Samuel J., Rev.	Newburyport, Mass.,	June 9, 1875
Stearns, Charles S.	Charlestown, Mass.,	June 12, 1878
Stone, Eben F., Col.	Newburyport, Mass.,	June 11, 1879
Thatcher, Henry K., Rear-Adm'l		
	Winchester, Mass.,	June 9, 1875
Train, Charles R., Hon.	Boston, Mass.,	June 11, 1879
Tucker, W. Howard	Hartford, Vt.,	June 11, 1890
Tucker, William W., Hon.	Boston, Mass.,	June 13, 1883
Tuttle, Charles W.	Boston, Mass.,	June 10, 1874
Wadleigh, Henry W.	Boston, Mass.,	June 13, 1877
Warner, William F., Esq.	Waverly, N. Y.,	June 8, 1881
Wentworth, John, Hon.	Chicago, Ill.,	June 11, 1879
Whitmore, W. H.	Boston, Mass.,	June 12, 1889
Witherow, Thomas, Rev., D.D.	Londonderry, Ire.,	June 13, 1893
Woodbury, Augustus, Rev.	Providence, R. I.,	June 9, 1875
Woodbury, Charles Levi, Hon.	Boston, Mass.,	June 14, 1876
Woodward, Royal	Albany, N. Y.,	June 9, 1880

RESIDENT MEMBERS,

QUALIFIED ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY.

1874 TO 1895.

[Continued from Vol. I, Page 14.]

Abbot, Francis L.	Concord,	May 9, 1888
Abbott, Henry, Hon.	Winchester,	Jan. 7, 1885
Abbott, Joseph B.	Keene,	June 13, 1877
Achard, Herman Jacoby, M. D.	Manchester,	Sept. 12, 1894
Aiken, Edward, M. D.	Amherst,	June 9, 1886
Allen, W. H. H.	Claremont,	Jan. 19, 1888
Amsden, Charles H.	Penacook,	Oct. 27, 1887
Andrews, Frank P.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Baer, Mrs. Annie W.	Salmon Falls,	Sept. 16, 1889
Bailey, Arthur C.	Newport,	Nov. 14, 1893
Baker, Henry M., Hon.	Bow,	June 8, 1887
Balcom, George L., Hon.	Claremont,	June 9, 1875
Ballard, John, Dea.	Concord,	Sept. 16, 1889
Barnard, William M.	Franklin,	June 11, 1884
Barry, John E., Rev., v. G.	Concord,	May 8, 1888
Bartlett, Mrs. Caroline B.	Concord,	June 21, 1888
Bartlett, James W.	Dover,	Oct. 1, 1884
Batchellor, Albert S.	Littleton,	June 11, 1884
Beane, S. C., Rev.	Concord,	June 12, 1878
Belknap, Horatio G.	Concord,	June 11, 1879
Bell, Mrs. Cora K. (Life)	Exeter,	June 10, 1885
Bell, Charles H., Hon.	Exeter, (Life Mem.	June 10, 1874)
Bell, Mrs. Mary E.	Exeter,	June 8, 1881
Bingham, Harry, Hon.	Littleton,	June 14, 1893
Bixby, A. H., Major	Francetown,	June 14, 1893

Blake, Amos J., Hon.	Fitzwilliam,	June 9, 1875
Bodwell, Albert Edward	Concord,	March 18, 1890
Briggs, William S.	Keene,	Jan. 7, 1885
Brown, Edmund H.	Penacook,	June 13, 1894
Brown, Elisha R.	Dover,	June 10, 1874
Burleigh, Alvin	Plymouth,	June 8, 1881
Burrows, Joseph	Plymouth,	June 12, 1878
Busiel, Charles A., Gov.	Laconia,	June 13, 1894
Carpenter, Alonzo P., Judge	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Carpenter, Mrs. Julia R.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Carter, Buel C.	Wolfeborough,	June 10, 1874
Carter, Nathan Franklin, Rev.	Concord,	June 11, 1890
Carr, Clarence E.	Andover,	June 12, 1878
Cartland, Charles S.	Lee,	Oct. 1, 1884
Chamberlin, Horace E.	Concord,	June 11, 1879
Chandler, Abiel	Concord,	June 10, 1874
Chandler, George B.	Manchester,	Jan. 7, 1885
Chase, William M., Judge	Concord,	June 13, 1877
Cheney, Thomas P., Col.	Ashland,	June 10, 1885
Cilley, Harry B.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Clapp, T. Eaton, D. D.	Manchester,	March 20, 1895
Clifford, Cornelius E.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Cochrane, Warren R., Rev., D. D.	Antrim (Life),	June 8, 1881
Cogswell, Elliott E., Rev.	Northwood,	June 14, 1876
Colby, Ira	Claremont,	June 13, 1888
Colby, James F., Prof.	Hanover,	June 13, 1894
Cook, Howard M.	Concord,	Oct. 13, 1892
Copeland, William J.	Great Falls,	Oct. 1, 1884
Corning, Benjamin Henry	Littleton,	Sept. 12, 1894
Corning, Charles R., Hon.	Concord,	June 10, 1874
Crane, Cephas B., Rev., D. D.	Concord,	June 8, 1887
Cressey, Mrs. Annette M. R.	Concord,	June 13, 1888
Cross, George N.	Exeter,	June 9, 1886
Cruft, George T., Gen.	Bethlehem,	Sept. 7, 1886
Currier, Moody, Gov.	Manchester,	June 14, 1882
Daniell, Warren F.	Franklin,	Oct. 27, 1887
Davis, J. G., Rev., D. D.	Amherst,	June 10, 1874
Dearborn, John J., M. D.	Salisbury,	June 9, 1880
De Normandie, James, Rev.	Portsmouth,	June 9, 1875
Dodge, Isaac B. (Life, 1893)	Amherst,	Oct. 27, 1887

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

447

Dowst, John,	Manchester,	June	13, 1894
Durant, E. J.	Lebanon,	June	11, 1879
Eastman, Albert L.	Hampstead,	June	13, 1877
Eastman, Charles F.	Littleton,	June	14, 1876
Eastman, Cyrus,	Littleton,	June	14, 1876
Eastman, Edson C.	Concord,	June	8, 1887
Eastman, Mrs. Mary Whittemore	Concord,	Oct.	4, 1894
Eaton, Mrs. Harriet Newell	Concord,	Oct.	10, 1889
Edgerly, James A.	Somersworth,	June	12, 1878
Elwyn, Alfred L., Rev.	Portsmouth,	June	13, 1877
Elwyn, John, Hon. (Elected June 9, 1869)	Portsmouth, Qualified	June	9, 1875
Emerson, Moses R.	Concord,	June	11, 1879
Emery, George E.	Exeter,	June	9, 1875
Evans, Mrs. Pauline L. (Bowen)	Concord,	Jan.	19, 1888
Farr, Charles A.	Littleton,	June	8, 1887
Farr, Evarts W.	Littleton,	June	11, 1879
Farwell, John L.	Claremont,	June	9, 1875
Faulkner, Francis C.	Keene,	Sept.	30, 1887
Fergusson, W. A.	Lancaster,	Dec.	20, 1888
Fiske, William P.	Concord,	June	14, 1882
Fitts, James H., Rev.	South Newmarket,	June	14, 1882
Fletcher, Arthur	Concord,	June	9, 1875
Foote, Charles E.	Penacook,	June	13, 1894
Fowler, Trueworthy Ladd	East Pembroke,	Sept.	29, 1891
French, John C.	Manchester,	Apr.	24, 1888
Frisbie, Franklin Senter	Boston, Mass.,	Oct.	13, 1892
Frye, John E.	East Concord,	Oct.	10, 1889
Gerould, Edward P.	Concord,	June	11, 1879
Gilman, J. Bradley, Rev.	Concord, (Cor. Mem. 1893)	Apr.	24, 1888
Gilman, Edward H., Col.	Exeter,	June	11, 1884
Gilmore, George C., Hon.	Manchester,	June	11, 1879
Goodenough, John C.	Littleton,	Oct.	1, 1884
Gove, Mrs. Maria L.	Concord,	Apr.	24, 1888
Graves, Eli E., M. D.	Boscawen,	Oct.	13, 1892
Gray, George Fred	Dover,	June	9, 1875
Green, Sullivan D.	Berlin Falls,	June	10, 1874

Hackett, Frank W.	Portsmouth,	June 10, 1874
Hackett, Wallace	Portsmouth,	June 14, 1882
Hale, Charles S., Rev.	Claremont,	June 14, 1893
Hall, Daniel, Col.	Dover,	Oct. 1, 1884
Hall, Joshua G.	Dover,	Oct. 1, 1884
Hall, Marshall P.	Manchester,	June 12, 1889
Ham, John R., M. D.	Dover,	June 10, 1874
Hammond, Isaac W., Esq.	Concord,	June 11, 1884
Hammond, Mrs. Martha W.	Concord,	Oct. 27, 1887
Hammond, Otis G., Esq.	Concord,	Oct. 3, 1893
Hardy, Charles C.	Dover,	June 10, 1874
Harmon, Charles Libby	Manchester,	Sept. 12, 1894
Harris, Miss Amanda B.	Warner,	June 9, 1880
Hartshorn, Fred Gilmore	Manchester,	March 20, 1895
Hatch, John	Greenland,	June 11, 1884
Hazelton, John B.	Suncook,	June 8, 1892
Herbert, Miss Alma J.	Concord,	June 9, 1880
Hill, Edson J.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Hitchcock, Charles H., Prof.	Hanover,	June 12, 1878
Hodgdon, Mrs. Julia A.	Weare,	June 8, 1881
Holden, Farwell P.	Penacook,	June 13, 1894
Holden, Paul R.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Holman, Sullivan, Rev.	Concord,	June 11, 1884
Hoyt, Miss Jane Elizabeth, M. D.	Concord,	Oct. 4, 1894
Hutchins, Stilson	Laconia,	Oct. 6, 1885
Jackson, James R.	Littleton,	June 11, 1884
Jenks, George E.	Concord,	June 13, 1883
Jordan, Chester B., Hon.	Lancaster,	Sept. 30, 1887
Kent, Henry O., Hon.	Lancaster,	Sept. 5, 1888
Ketchum, Silas, Rev.	Bristol, (Cor. Mem.)	June 10, 1873
Kimball, Benjamin A., Hon.	Concord,	June 9, 1875
Kimball, Henry A.	Concord,	June 11, 1890
Kimball, Mrs. Myra Tilton	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Kimball, John R., M. D.	Suncook,	Jan. 19, 1888
Kimball, Miss Mary E.	Lebanon,	June 9, 1880
Kimball, Samuel S.	Concord,	June 9, 1875
Ladd, Alexander H. (Life)	Portsmouth,	June 12, 1878
Ladd, Fletcher	Lancaster,	June 13, 1894
Ladd, William S.	Lancaster,	June 11, 1884

Lamberton, James Mc., B. A., Prof.	Concord,	June 14, 1893
Langdon, Francis E., M. D.	Portsmouth,	June 8, 1881
Langdon, Samuel	Portsmouth,	June 13, 1877
Lathrop, Moses C.	Dover,	Oct. 1, 1884
Linehan, John C., Col.	Penacook,	June 8, 1887
Little, George Peabody	Pembroke,	Sept. 5, 1888
Long, Mrs. Mary O.	Exeter,	June 8, 1881
Lord, John K., Prof.	Hanover,	June 13, 1894
Luce, Thomas D.	Nashua,	June 8, 1892
Lund, Mrs. Lydia F.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Mahany, John M.	Concord,	Dec. 20, 1888
Marshall, Anson Southard, Esq.	Concord,	June 10, 1885
Mason, John Edwin, M. D.	Manchester,	June 14, 1882
Mathes, Albert O.	Dover,	Oct. 1, 1884
McClintock, John N., Esq.	Concord, (Cor. Mem. June 14, 1893),	June 9, 1880
McFarland, Henry, Major	Concord,	Oct. 3, 1893
Means, Charles T., Hon.	Manchester,	June 11, 1890
Meserve, Arthur L.	Bartlett,	June 14, 1882
Miller, Frank W.	Portsmouth,	June 11, 1873
Miller, James, Capt., U. S. A.	Concord,	Oct. 4, 1894
Mitchell, William H.	Littleton,	Oct. 6, 1885
Morrill, Luther S.	Concord,	June 13, 1883
Morrison, Charles R., Hon.	Concord,	Oct. 10, 1889
Morrison, Leonard A., Hon.	Windham, (Life, July 10, 1894),	June 14, 1882
Morrison, Mortier L.	Peterborough,	June 8, 1887
Morrison, William H., Rev.	Manchester,	Oct. 3, 1893
Moses, George H.	Concord,	Nov. 14, 1893
Nesmith, Miss Annie	Franklin,	June 9, 1880
Noyes, Daniel J., Rev., Prof.	Hanover, (Qualified 1873),	June 14, 1871
Nutter, Eliphalet S.	Concord,	Oct. 6, 1885
Nutter, John P.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Odell, Lory,	Portsmouth,	June 13, 1877
Odlin, James E., Rev.	Goffstown,	Sept. 30, 1887
Odlin, Woodbridge	Concord (Qualified 1873),	June 12, 1861
Ordway, John C., Esq.	Concord,	Oct. 6, 1885

Palmer, Haven, M. D.	Plymouth,	March 18, 1890
Parsons, Ebenezer Greenleaf, Rev.	Derry,	April 24, 1888
Parsons, Frank N., Hon.	Littleton,	June 14, 1893
Parker, Walter M.	Manchester,	June 13, 1888
Patterson, James Willis, Hon.	Hanover,	Sept. 5, 1888
Peabody, Leonard W., M. D.	Henniker,	June 10, 1874
Pearson, John H.	Concord,	Oct. 6, 1885
Perry, John T.	Exeter,	June 13, 1883
Pert, Luther B., Rev.	Londonderry,	June 9, 1875
Philbrook, Charles F. B.	Boston, Mass.,	Oct. 13, 1892
Pickering, C. W., Commodore	Portsmouth,	June 8, 1881
Pickering, John J.	Portsmouth,	June 13, 1877
Pinkham, Joseph	Newmarket,	June 11, 1890
Porter, Mrs. Alice Rosalie	Concord,	June 8, 1887
Porter, Howard L., Gen.	Concord,	June 8, 1887
Porter, Royal H.	Keene,	June 13, 1877
Pratt, Myron J.	Concord,	Sept. 30, 1887
Pray, Thomas J. W., M. D.	Dover,	Oct. 1, 1884
Prescott, Abraham J.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Proctor, Frank W.	Andover,	June 8, 1881
Quimby, Elihu T., Prof.	Hanover,	June 9, 1875
Quinby, Henry B., Esq.	Gilford,	June 12, 1889
Quint, Alonzo H., D. D.	Dover,	June 8, 1881
Reding, John R.	Portsmouth, (Qual. 1875)	June 9, 1869
Richards, Dexter, Hon.	Newport,	June 8, 1881
Robinson, Allan H.	Concord,	June 10, 1874
Robinson, Henry, Hon.	Concord,	Oct. 6, 1885
Rollins, Frank W.	Concord,	Apr. 24, 1888
Rounds, C. C., Prof.	Plymouth,	June 14, 1893
Ryder, Edward S., M. D.	Portsmouth,	June 10, 1874
Sanders, Charles Henry	Penacook,	March 18, 1890
Sargeant, Cyrus, Hon.	Plymouth,	Sept. 29, 1891
Sargent, Mrs. Louise J.	Concord,	Oct. 27, 1887
Sawyer, Charles H., Gov.	Dover,	Oct. 1, 1884
Schutz, Mrs. Elizabeth P.	Concord,	Jan. 7, 1885
Secomb, Daniel F.	Concord,	June 9, 1875
Shaw, Elijah Morrill, Capt.	Nashua,	Oct. 3, 1893
Silsby, Arthur W.	Concord,	Sept. 30, 1887
Silsby, George H. H.	Concord,	June 14, 1876

Smith, Mrs. Emma L.	Hillsborough,	Oct.	3, 1893
Smith, John B., Gov.	Hillsborough,	Jan.	18, 1888
Smyth, Frederick, Hon.	Manchester,	June	21, 1888
Smyth, Mrs. Marion	Manchester,	June	21, 1888
Spalding, George B., Rev.	Dover,	June	10, 1874
Spaulding, Edward H.	Wilton,	June	12, 1878
Spofford, Charles Byron	Claremont,	June	13, 1888
Stackpole, Paul A., M. D.	Dover,	June	13, 1883
Staniels, Rufus P.	Concord,	June	11, 1884
Stearns, Ezra S., Hon.	Rindge,	Sept.	30, 1887
Stevens, Mrs. Ellen Tuck	Concord,	Oct.	27, 1887
Stevens, Mrs. Frances C.	Concord,	Sept.	30, 1887
Stevens, Henry W., Esq.	Concord,	Oct.	27, 1887
Stevens, Lyman D.	Concord,	Oct.	6, 1885
Stevens, William S.	Dover,	Oct.	1, 1884
Stickney, Joseph A.	Somersworth,	June	12, 1878
Streeter, Frank S., Esq.	Concord,	June	11, 1879
Sulloway, Alvah W.	Franklin,	June	12, 1889
Tappan, Mrs. Almira Rice (Life)	Concord,	June	8, 1887
Tappan, Charles Langdon, Rev. (Life)	Concord,	June	8, 1887
Thompson, Andrew J.	Laconia,	June	11, 1873
Thorne, John C.	Concord,	June	14, 1876
Todd, George E.	Concord,	June	21, 1888
Tredick, Titus Salter	Portsmouth,	June	13, 1877
Tuck, Amos, Hon.	Exeter,	June	9, 1875
Tucker, W. Howard	Lebanon,	Oct.	13, 1892
Tutherly, William	Concord,	Sept.	12, 1894
Twitchell, A. S.	Gorham,	June	10, 1885
Upham, Joseph B., Jr.	Portsmouth,	Jan.	7, 1885
Varney, John R.	Dover,	Oct.	16, 1873
Walker, Charles R., M. D.	Concord,	June	11, 1884
Walker, Mrs. Elizabeth L.	Concord,	Oct.	1, 1884
Walker, Gustavus	Concord,	June	12, 1878
Walker, Isaac, Prof.	Pembroke,	June	11, 1873
Waterman, Lucius, Rev.	Littleton,	June	8, 1892
Watson, Irving A., M. D.	Concord,	June	11, 1884
Welch, John T.	Dover,	Oct.	1, 1884
Wetworth, Mark H.	Portsmouth,	June	8, 1881

Wheat, Arthur Fitts, M. D.	Manchester,	Sept.	12, 1894
White, John A.	Concord,	Oct.	6, 1885
Whitman, Gilbert P.	Manchester,	June	8, 1881
Wilkins, Elijah Russell, Rev.	Concord,	June	11, 1890
Wingate, Joseph C. A.	Stratham,	June	11, 1890
Yeaton, William	Concord,	June	8, 1892
Young, Aaron H , Col.	Dover,	June	8, 1881

ACTIVE RESIDENT MEMBERS,

JUNE 12, 1895.

Abbot, Francis L.	Concord,	May 9, 1888
Abbott, Henry	Winchester,	Jan. 7, 1885
Achard, Herman Jacoby	Manchester,	Sept. 12, 1894
Amsden, Charles H.	Penacook,	Oct. 27, 1887
Andrews, Frank P.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Averill, Clinton S.	Milford,	June 12, 1872
Ayer, Franklin D.	Concord,	June 10, 1868
Baker, Henry M.	Bow,	June 8, 1887
Balcom, George L.	Claremont,	June 9, 1875
Ballard, John,	Concord,	Sept. 16, 1889
Baer, Mrs. Annie E.	Dover,	Sept. 16, 1889
Bailey, Arthur C.	Newport,	Nov. 14, 1893
Bartlett, Mrs. Caroline B.	Concord,	June 21, 1888
Bartlett, James W.	Dover,	Oct. 1, 1884
Batchellor, Albert S.	Littleton,	June 11, 1884
Bell, Mrs. Cora K. (Life)	Exeter,	June 10, 1885
Bingham, Harry	Littleton,	June 14, 1893
Bixby, A. H.	Francestown,	June 14, 1893
Blake, Amos J.	Fitzwilliam,	June 9, 1875
Bodwell, Albert E.	Concord,	March 18, 1890
Brown, Edmund H.	Penacook,	June 13, 1894
Burleigh, Alvin,	Plymouth,	June 8, 1881
Busiel, Charles A.	Laconia,	June 13, 1894
Carpenter, Alonzo P.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Carter, Nathan Franklin	Concord,	June 8, 1890
Carter, William G.	Concord,	June 12, 1872
Chase, William M.	Concord,	June 13, 1877
Chamberlin, Horace E.	Concord,	June 13, 1879
Chandler, George B.	Manchester,	Jan. 7, 1885

Chandler, William E.	Concord,	June 10, 1863
Cilley, Bradbury L.	Exeter,	June 11, 1873
Cilley, Harry B.	Manchester,	Jan. 19, 1888
Clapp, T. Eaton	Manchester,	March 20, 1895
Cochrane, Warren R. (Life)	Antrim,	June 8, 1881
Cogswell, Parsons B.	Concord,	June 8, 1864
Colby, Ira	Claremont,	June 13, 1888
Colby, James F.	Hanover,	June 13, 1894
Cook, Howard M.	Concord,	Oct. 13, 1892
Corning, Benjamin H.	Littleton,	Sept. 12, 1894
Corning, Charles R.	Concord,	June 10, 1874
Cross, David	Manchester,	June 12, 1872
Cruft, George T.	Bethlehem,	Sept. 7, 1886
Currier, Moody	Manchester,	June 14, 1882
Dana, Sylvester	Concord,	June 10, 1868
Daniell, Warren F.	Franklin,	Oct. 27, 1887
Dodge, Isaac B. (Life)	Amherst,	Oct. 27, 1887
Downing, Lewis, Jr.	Concord,	June 12, 1867
Dowst, John	Manchester,	June 13, 1894
Eastman, Charles F.	Littleton,	June 8, 1887
Eastman, Edson C.	Concord,	June 8, 1887
Eastman, Mrs. Mary Whittemore	Concord,	Oct. 4, 1894
Eastman, Samuel C.	Concord,	June 11, 1862
Edgerly, James A.	Great Falls,	June 12, 1878
Elwyn, Alfred L.	Portsmouth,	June 13, 1877
Evans, Mrs. Pauline L. (Bowen)	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Farwell, John L.	Claremont,	June 9, 1875
Faulkner, Frances C.	Keene,	Sept. 30, 1887
Fergusson, W. H.	Lancaster,	Dec. 20, 1888
Fiske, William P.	Concord,	June 14, 1882
Fitts, James H.	South Newmarket,	June 14, 1882
Foote, Charles E.	Penacook,	June 13, 1894
Fowler, Trueworthy L.	East Pembroke,	June 8, 1892
French, John C.	Manchester,	April 24, 1888
Frisbie, F. Senter	Boston, Mass.,	Oct. 13, 1892
Fry, John E.	East Concord,	Oct. 10, 1889
*Gage, Isaac K.	Penacook,	June 19, 1872

*Died September 10, 1894.

Gerrish, Enoch	Concord,	June 14, 1871
Goodenough, John C.	Littleton,	Oct. 1, 1884
Gould, Sylvester C.	Manchester,	June 11, 1873
Gove, Mrs. Maria L.	Concord,	April 24, 1888
Graves, Eli E.	Boscawen,	Oct. 13, 1892
Hackett, Frank W.	Portsmouth,	June 10, 1874
Hackett, Wallace	Portsmouth,	June 14, 1882
Hadley, Amos	Concord,	June 18, 1851
Hale, Charles S.	Claremont,	June 14, 1893
Hall, Daniel	Dover,	Oct. 1, 1884
Hall, Marshall P.	Manchester,	June 12, 1889
Hammond, Mrs. Martha W.	Concord,	Oct. 27, 1887
Hammond, Otis G.	Concord,	Oct. 3, 1893
Ham, John R.	Dover,	June 10, 1874
Harmon, Charles L.	Manchester,	Sept. 12, 1894
Hartshorn, Fred Gilmore	Manchester,	March 20, 1895
Hazelton, John B.	Suncook,	June 8, 1892
Herbert, Miss Alma J.	Concord,	June 9, 1880
Hill, Edson J.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Hill, Joseph C. A. (Life)	Concord,	June 10, 1863
Holden, Farwell P.	Penacook,	June 13, 1894
Holden, Paul R.	West Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Hoyt, Miss Jane Elizabeth	Concord,	Oct. 4, 1894
Humphrey, Moses	Concord,	June 10, 1868
Jordan, Chester B.	Lancaster,	Sept. 30, 1887
Kimball, Benjamin A.	Concord,	June 9, 1875
Kimball, Henry A.	Concord,	June 8, 1890
Kimball, John	Concord,	June 24, 1869
Kimball, Mrs. Myra T.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Kimball, Samuel S.	Concord,	June 9, 1875
Ladd, Fletcher	Lancaster,	June 13, 1894
Lamberton, James M.	Concord,	June 14, 1893
Linehan, John C.	Penacook,	June 8, 1887
Little, George P.	Pembroke,	Sept. 5, 1888
Long, Mrs. Mary O.	Exeter,	June 8, 1881
Lord, John K.	Hanover,	June 13, 1894
Luce, Thomas D.	Nashua,	June 8, 1892
Lund, Mrs. Lydia F.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888

Mahany, John M.	Concord,	Dec. 20, 1888
Mathes, A. O.	Dover,	Oct. 1, 1884
McFarland, Henry	Concord,	Oct. 3, 1893
Means, Charles T.	Manchester,	June 11, 1890
Miller, James. (U. S. A.)	Concord,	Oct. 4, 1894
Mitchell, W. H.	Littleton,	Oct. 6, 1885
Morrison, Leonard A. (Life)	Windham,	June 14, 1882
Morrison, Mortier L.	Peterborough,	June 8, 1887
Morrison, William H.	Manchester,	Oct. 3, 1893
Moses, George H.	Concord,	Nov. 14, 1893
Noyes, John W.	Chester,	June 13, 1866
Nutter, John P.	Concord,	Jan. 19, 1888
Odlin, Woodbridge	Concord,	June 12, 1872
Olcott, George	Charlestown,	June 12, 1872
Ordway, John C.	Concord,	Oct. 6, 1885
Palmer, Haven	Plymouth,	March 18, 1890
Parker, Walter M.	Manchester,	June 13, 1888
Parsons, Ebenezer G.	Derry,	April 24, 1888
Parsons, Frank N.	Franklin,	June 14, 1893
Peabody, Leonard W.	Henniker,	June 10, 1874
Pearson, John H.	Concord,	Oct. 6, 1885
Pecker, Jonathan E.	Concord,	June 10, 1863
Perry, John T.	Exeter,	June 13, 1883
Philbrook, C. F. B.	Boston, Mass.,	Oct. 13, 1892
Pinkham, Joseph	Newmarket,	June 11, 1890
Porter, Mrs. Alice Rosalie	Concord,	June 8, 1887
Porter, Howard L.	Concord,	June 8, 1887
Pratt, Myron J.	Concord,	Sept. 30, 1887
*Prescott, Benjamin F.	Epping,	June 11, 1862
Richards, Dexter	Newport,	June 8, 1881
Rollins, Frank W.	Concord,	April 24, 1888
Rollins, William H.	Portsmouth,	June 8, 1870
Rounds, C. C.	Plymouth,	June 14, 1893
Sanders, Charles H.	Penacook,	March 18, 1890
Sargeant, Cyrus	Plymouth,	June 8, 1892
Sargent, Mrs. Louise J.	Concord,	Oct. 27, 1887

* Died February 20, 1895.

Sawyer, Charles H.	Dover,	Oct.	1, 1884
Schutz, Mrs. Elizabeth P.	Concord,	Jan.	7, 1885
*Secomb, Daniel F.	Concord,	June	9, 1875
Shaw, Elijah Morrill	Nashua,	Oct.	3, 1893
Silsby, Arthur W.	Concord,	Sept.	30, 1887
Smith, Mrs. Emma L.	Hillsborough,	Oct.	3, 1893
Smith, Isaac W.	Manchester,	June	10, 1863
Smith, Jeremiah	Cambridge, Mass.,	June	13, 1860
Smith, John B.	Hillsborough,	Jan.	19, 1888
Smyth, Frederick	Manchester,	June	21, 1888
Smyth, Mrs. Marion	Manchester,	June	21, 1888
Spalding, Edward	Nashua,	June	12, 1872
Spofford, Charles B.	Claremont,	June	13, 1888
Stackpole, Paul A.	Dover,	June	11, 1883
Stearns, Ezra S.	Rindge,	Sept.	30, 1887
Stevens, Mrs. Ellen Tuck	Concord,	Oct.	27, 1887
Stevens, Mrs. Frances C.	Concord,	Sept.	30, 1887
Stevens, Henry W.	Concord,	Oct.	27, 1887
Stevens, Lyman D.	Concord,	Oct.	6, 1885
Stevens, William S.	Dover,	Oct.	1, 1884
Sulloway, Alvah W.	Franklin,	June	12, 1889
Tappan, Mrs. Almira Rice (Life)	Concord,	June	8, 1887
Tappan, Charles Langdon (Life)	Concord,	June	8, 1887
Thorne, John C.	Concord,	June	14, 1876
Towne, William B. (Life)	Milford,	June	8, 1870
Tredick, Titus Salter	Portsmouth,	June	13, 1877
Tucker, W. Howard	Lebanon,	June	13, 1892
Tutherly, William	Concord,	Sept.	12, 1894
Twitchell, A. S.	Gorham,	June	10, 1885
Wait, Albert S.	Newport,	June	12, 1867
Walker, Charles R.	Concord,	June	11, 1884
Walker, Mrs. Elizabeth L.	Concord,	Oct.	1, 1884
Walker, Isaac	Pembroke,	June	11, 1873
Walker, Joseph B.	Concord,	June	11, 1845
Waterman, Lucius	Laconia,	June	8, 1892
Welch, John T.	Dover,	Oct.	1, 1884
Wentworth, Mark H.	Portsmouth,	Jan.	8, 1881
Wheat, Arthur F.	Manchester,	Sept.	12, 1894
White, John A.	Concord,	Oct.	6, 1885

* Died January 14, 1895.

Whittemore, B. B.	Nashua,	June 12, 1850
Wilkins, Elijah R.	Concord,	June 8, 1890
Wingate, Joseph C. A.	Stratham,	June 11, 1890
Yeaton, William	Concord,	Feb. 19, 1895

ACTS AND RESOLVES OF THE LEGISLATURE,

IN FAVOR OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened:

That his excellency the governor be hereby authorized and empowered, with the advice and consent of the council, to employ some suitable person—and fix his compensation, to be paid out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated—to collect, arrange, transcribe, and superintend the publication of such portions of the early state and provincial records and other state papers of New Hampshire as the governor may deem proper; and that eight hundred copies of each volume of the same be printed by the state printer, and distributed as follows: namely, one copy to each city and town in the state, one copy to such of the public libraries of the state as the governor may designate, fifty copies to the New Hampshire Historical Society, and the remainder placed in the custody of the state librarian, who is hereby authorized to exchange the same for similar publications by other states.

(Approved August 4, 1881.)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened:

SECTION 1. The secretary of state is authorized and directed to issue an order to the public printer to print and bind eight hundred copies of the index to the laws of the state that has been prepared in his office, under the act approved September 11, 1883.

SEC. 2. The volumes of the printed index shall be distributed as follows: To the governor; to each member of the council, Senate, and House; to to the New Hampshire Historical Society; one copy each.

(Approved July 23, 1885.)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened:

SECTION 1. The secretary of state is authorized and directed to issue an order to the public printer to print and bind eight hundred copies of the index to the journals of the Senate and House of Representatives that is being made in his office, under the act approved September 11, 1883.

SEC. 2. The index to the journals shall be labeled and distributed in the same way, and to the same persons, officers, and libraries, as is provided for the labeling and distributing of the index to the laws in chapter 18 of the Session Laws of 1885.

(Approved August 7, 1889.)

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened:

The secretary of state is authorized to purchase copies of the history of each regiment of New Hampshire Volunteers which served in the War of the Rebellion, to be distributed as follows: Five copies for the use of the state library, five for the use of the New Hampshire Historical Society, one for the library of Dartmouth College, one for the office of the secretary of state, one for the office of the adjutant-general, and one for each town and city in the state; *provided*, that the maximum price to be paid per volume for a regiment of three years' service shall in no case, except as in special cases hereinafter provided, exceed two dollars and fifty cents, which price is authorized for volumes containing as much printed matter and as substantially bound as the cloth editions of the history of the Fourteenth New Hampshire Volunteers, recently published, and in case the volume to be purchased under authority of this resolution

shall contain less matter than said Fourteenth Regiment history, a corresponding reduction from said maximum price shall be required, and no such histories shall be purchased unless the same shall have been prepared by authority of the proper regimental association, shall have been found by the governor and council to be, as far as practicable in such works, faithfully, impartially, and accurately prepared, historically correct, to contain matter not otherwise conveniently accessible, and of sufficient reliability and importance to justify this patronage; *provided*, that in case the history of any regiment of three years' term or longer, as actually published, cannot be obtained at the prices aforesaid on account of historical matter necessarily contained therein, the governor and council may authorize the secretary of state to purchase the same for the purposes aforesaid at such price as they may deem just between the parties.

(Approved October 21, 1887.)

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened:

SECTION 1. The provisions of the joint resolution in relation to the purchase of the histories of military organizations of this state in the late war, approved October 21, 1887, shall also include and be applicable to like works relating to or prepared for the First Light Battery, the Sharpshooters, the Naval Contingent from this state, and the representation from this state in the regular army; *provided*, that the history of each of these several divisions of the New Hampshire men serving in the War of the Rebellion shall not require more than one volume.

SEC. 2. The secretary of state is authorized to procure, in accordance with the provisions of said joint resolution of 1887, and in addition to the number therein mentioned, fifty copies of each of said histories, to be placed in the state libraries of other states, and in the libraries of the principal cities of other states, or exchanged for similar works, in order that records of the part taken in the War of the Rebellion by New Hampshire organizations may be equally accessible with other similar works at the capitals of the country.

(Approved August 16, 1889.)

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened:

That the sum of five hundred dollars be hereby appropriated and, until otherwise ordered, annually paid to the New Hampshire Historical Society, to aid said society in keeping its library open to the public; and the governor is hereby authorized to draw his warrant for the same, to be paid out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

(Approved July 30, 1889.)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened:

SECTION 1. The commissioners appointed to revise, codify, and amend the Public Statutes are authorized and directed to prepare for publication the act passed at this session, entitled "An act to revise, codify, and amend the Public Statutes of the state."

SEC. 5. The one thousand copies delivered to the secretary of state shall be distributed by him as follows: One copy to each town in the state, to
to each society, college, and library entitled to receive a copy of the laws,

(Approved April 7, 1891.)

Public Statutes of New Hampshire, 1891. Page 56. Sec. 6.

The secretary shall deposit in the office three copies of the printed laws of each session, and shall forthwith send one copy to each public library established under the laws of the state.

(Approved February 25, 1891.)

Public Statutes of New Hampshire, 1891. Page 152. Sec. 16.

The chairman of the board of selectmen of towns and of commissioners of village districts shall transmit to the state librarian and to the New Hampshire Historical Society each, two copies of all printed reports of the officers of their respec-

tive towns and village districts immediately after the same are published.

(Approved February 25, 1891.)

*Public Laws and Resolves of the State of New Hampshire,
Passed January Session, 1895.*

SEC. 3. Section 18 of Chapter 8 of the Public Statutes is hereby amended by inserting after the words "studies" in the last line thereof the words, "and all other printed matter of the institution." So that said section shall read as follows: "Sec. 18. The principal of each college, academy, seminary, or other institution of learning incorporated by the laws of this state, shall annually, and before the first day of November of each year, forward to the state librarian for the state library two copies, and to the New Hampshire Historical Society two copies, of each printed catalogue of its officers and students and courses of study, and all other printed matter of the institution published during the year ending on that date."

(Approved February 13, 1895.)

DEED OF BRADLEY MONUMENT LOT.

ABNER COLBY TO RICHARD BRADLEY.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That

I, Abner Colby of Concord in the county of Merrimack, and state of New Hampshire, Yeoman, for and in consideration of the sum of twelve dollars to me in hand, before the delivery hereof, well and truly paid by Richard Bradley of Concord aforesaid, Esquire, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, have given, granted, bargained, and sold, and by these presents do give, grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeoff, convey and confirm unto the said Richard Bradley, his heirs, and assigns, forever a certain piece of land situate in Concord aforesaid, and bounded and described as follows (to wit)

Beginning at a stake, standing on the north side of the highway leading from Concord to Hopkinton, at the south east corner of Abiel Walker's pasture; thence easterly by said highway six rods, to a stake; thence northerly three rods, to a stake; thence westerly six rods to said Abiel Walker's land; thence southerly by said Walker's land three rods to the bound begun at:—containing eighteen square rods of land within the fence as it now stands; and lying six rods on said highway, said land being sold and conveyed to said Bradley for the erection of a monument to perpetuate the memory of persons Massacred by the Indians August 12, 1746, O. S.

To have and to hold the said premises, with all the privileges and appurtenances to the same belonging, to him the said Bradley and his heirs and assigns, to his and their only proper use and benefit forever. And I the said Colby and my heirs, executors, and administrators, do hereby covenant, grant, and agree, to and with the said Bradley and his heirs and assigns,

that until the delivery hereof I am the lawful owner of the said premises, and am seized and possessed thereof in my own right in fee simple, and have full power and lawful authority to grant and convey the same in manner aforesaid; and that the said premises are free and clear from all and every encumbrance whatsoever; and that I and my heirs, executors, and administrators, shall and will warrant the same to the said Bradley and his heirs and assigns, against the lawful claims and demands of any person or persons whomsoever.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty six.

Signed, sealed and delivered ABNER COLBY. L. S.

in presence of us,

JOSEPH LOW,

GEORGE PORTER.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Merrimack ss. December 17, 1836.

PERSONALLY APPEARING, the above named Abner Colby acknowledged the foregoing instrument to be his voluntary act and deed—Before me,

JOSEPH LOW, Justice of the Peace.

Received and recorded—January 11, 1837,

Examined, JOSEPH ROBINSON, Register.

Copied from Merrimack County Records, Book 48. Page 340.

DEED OF BRADLEY MONUMENT AND LOT,
RICHARD BRADLEY TO THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

Know all men by these presents that I, Richard Bradley of Concord in the County of Merrimack and State of New Hampshire, Esquire, in consideration of one dollar paid to me by the New Hampshire Historical Society, and in consideration of a desire to perpetuate the memory of an event which constitutes an important item in the History of the State and Country,

Have given, granted, bargained and sold, and by these presents do give, grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeoff, convey and confirm unto the said Society and their successors forever, a certain tract of land situate in Concord aforesaid, on the north side of the highway leading to Hopkinton, and bounded as follows, viz. : beginning at a stake standing on the north side of said highway at the southeast corner of Abiel Walker's land, thence easterly by said highway six rods to a stake, thence north three rods to a stake, thence westerly six rods to said Walker's land, thence southerly by said Walker's land three rods to the first mentioned bound, containing eighteen square rods of land within the fence as it now stands, together with a monument which I have prepared and erected on said land to perpetuate the memory of persons massacred by the Indians August 11, 1746 old style. Being the same land I purchased of Abner Colby by his deed dated December 17, 1836, recorded in Merrimack Book 48 Page 340.

To Have and to Hold the said granted premises with all the privileges and appurtenances to the same belonging to them the said Historical Society and their successors, to them and their only proper use and benefit forever. But case said Society

shall, any time hereafter, become extinct, then said premises to revert to my lawful heirs. And I the said Bradley and my heirs, executors and administrators, do hereby covenant, grant and agree to and with the said Society and their successors, that until the delivery hereof I am the lawful owner of the said premises, and am seized & possessed thereof in my own right in fee simple, and have full power and lawful authority to grant and convey the same in manner aforesaid, and that said premises are free and clear from all and every incumbrance whatsoever; and that I and my heirs, executors and administrators shall and will warrant the same to the said Society and their successors against the lawful claims and demands of any person or persons whomsoever.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty-second day of August in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty seven.

Signed, sealed & delivered RICH'D BRADLEY. Seal.

in presence of

LEWIS HALL,

JAMES SULLIVAN.

State of New Hampshire Merrimack ss, August 22, 1837,
Personally appearing the above named Richard Bradley acknowledged the foregoing instrument to be his voluntary act and deed.

Before me

JAMES SULLIVAN,

Justice of the peace.

Merrimack Records. Received March 29, 1839. Recorded
Liber 57-page 165.

Examined, JOHN TOWNSEND, Reg.

Copied from Deed, in possession of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

WARRANTY DEED.

MERRIMACK COUNTY BANK TO NATHANIEL BOUTON.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That the President, Directors and Company of the Merrimack County Bank, in the State of New Hampshire, for and in consideration of the sum of sixteen hundred dollars to them paid by Nathaniel Bouton of Concord, in the County of Merrimack in the State aforesaid, Clerk, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, have given, granted, bargained, and sold, and by these presents do give, grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeoff, convey and confirm unto to the said Bouton, his heirs and assigns forever, a certain tract or parcel of land, with the buildings thereon, situate on the east side of Main street in Concord aforesaid, bounded as follows, to wit; beginning on said street at the northwest corner of said land, by land of Richard Herbert, thence easterly by said Herbert's land about twenty rods to land of the late John West; thence southerly by said West's land about eight rods to land of Joseph C. West; thence westerly by said J. C. West's land about thirteen rods to a stake by the northeast corner of said J. C. West's barn; thence northerly two rods and seventeen links to a stake; thence westerly about five rods to a stake within about two feet of the said Bank-house; thence northerly fourteen links to a stake near the northeast corner of said Bank-house; thence westerly by the north end of said Bank-house about two rods to said street; thence by said street to the bound begun at; containing about three fourths of an acre, be the same more or less. Excepting and reserving to the President, Directors and Company of the Merrimack County Bank, their successors and assigns forever, the right of way from said Main street, between the house on said prem-

ises and said Bank-house to the land of said Corporation, the back side of said Bank-house, two and a half rods easterly of the northeast corner of said Bank-house. Also reserving the crops now growing on said premises. Said Bouton is to have possession of said premises on the first day of October next.

To have and to hold the said premises, with all the privileges and appurtenances to the same belonging, to him the said Nathaniel Bouton, his heirs and assigns, to his and their only proper use and benefit forever. And the said President, Directors and Company of the Merrimack County Bank do hereby covenant, grant and agree, to and with the said Nathaniel Bouton and his heirs and assigns, that until the delivery hereof, said Corporation are the lawful owners of the said premises, seized and possessed thereof in their own right in fee simple, and have full power and lawful authority to grant and convey the same in manner aforesaid; and that the said premises are free and clear of all incumbrances; and that the President, Directors and Company of the Merrimack County Bank, shall and will warrant and defend the same to the said Bouton and his heirs and assigns, against the lawful claims and demands of all persons whomsoever.

In witness whereof, the President, Directors and Company of the Merrimack County Bank, by Isaac Hill, William Pickering and Joseph Low, a committee duly appointed at an annual meeting of the Stockholders of said Bank, holden at the Bank on the fifth day of February 1828, at ten o'clock, A. M., "to sell and convey such part of the real estate belonging to the Corporation as they may deem expedient," have hereunto set our hands, and the seal of our said Corporation, this thirtieth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty nine.

Signed, sealed and delivered,	ISAAC HILL,
in presence of us,	WM. PICKERING, [L. S.]
J. H. WILKINS,	JOSEPH LOW.
STERLING SARGENT.	

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, Merrimack ss. June 30, 1829.

Then personally appeared Isaac Hill, William Pickering and Joseph Low, and acknowledged the foregoing to be their voluntary act and deed.

Before,

JOSEPH M. HARPER, Jus. Peace.

Received June 30, 1829.

Examined, SAMUEL COFFIN, Recorder.

Copied from Merrimack County Records—Book 19. Page 198.

WARRANTY DEED.

MERRIMACK COUNTY BANK TO MRS. EMILY CHADWICK.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, THAT

The Merrimack County Bank, by Francis N. Fisk, who was duly authorized by vote of the Directors of said Bank, September 29, 1851, for and in consideration of the sum of sixty Dollars, to it in hand, before the delivery hereof, well and truly paid by Emily Chadwick of Concord in the County of Merrimack, wife of Edmund S. Chadwick, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, have given, granted, bargained and sold and by these presents do give, grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeoff, convey, and confirm unto the said Emily Chadwick, her heirs and assigns forever, a certain tract of land, situate in said Concord, and bounded as follows, to wit:

Beginning on the easterly side of Main street six inches southerly of the flagging stone of the brick side walk in front of said brick building of said Bank, and eighteen inches northerly of the northwest corner post of said Chadwick's front yard fence; thence easterly on a straight line to land of Nathaniel Bouton at a stone post; thence southerly by said Bouton's land about three feet to land of said Chadwick; thence westerly by said Chadwick's land to Main street; thence northerly to place of beginning.

To have and to hold the said granted premises, with all the privileges and appurtenances to the same belonging, to her, the said Emily Chadwick and her heirs and assigns, to her and their only proper use and benefit forever. And the said Merrimack County Bank, by F. N. Fisk, and its assigns, do hereby covenant, grant, and agree to and with the said Emily Chadwick, and her heirs and assigns, that until the

delivery hereof, the lawful owner of the said premises, and are seized and possessed thereof in its own right in fee simple: and have full power and lawful authority to grant, and convey the same in manner aforesaid; that the said premises are free and clear from all and every incumbrance whatsoever: and that it will warrant and defend the same to said Chadwick and her heirs and assigns, against the lawful claims and demands of any person or persons whomsoever.

In witness whereof, the Merrimack County Bank, by F. N. Fisk, have hereunto set its hand and seal this twenty sixth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty four.

Signed, sealed and delivered, FRANCIS N. FISK. [L. S.]
in presence of us,

CHAS. H. STEARNS,

E. S. TOWLE.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, Merrimack ss.

Personally appearing the above named Merrimack County Bank, by F. N. Fisk, acknowledged the foregoing instrument to be its voluntary act and deed—Before me:

Dated the twenty sixth day of October 1854.

E. S. TOWLE, Justice of the Peace.

Received May 22, 1857.

Recorded and examined: Attest

JAMES FELLOWS, Register.

Copied from Merrimack County Records—Book 137. Page 35.

WARRANTY DEED.

MERRIMACK COUNTY BANK TO EDWARD H. ROLLINS.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That

U. S.
Revenue
Stamp.
\$3.00.
Cancelled,
E. S. Towle.
Jan. 29,
1869.

The Merrimack County Bank of Concord, in the County of Merrimack, State of New Hampshire, a corporation duly established by the laws of said State, by its President, E. S. Towle, for this purpose duly authorized by a vote of the Stockholders, passed January 13, 1868, for, and in consideration of the sum of Two Thousand nine hundred and Thirty Dollars to it in hand, before the delivery hereof, well and truly paid by Edward H. Rollins of the said Concord, the receipt whereof it does hereby acknowledge, has given, granted, bargained, and sold, and by these Presents does give, grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeof, convey and confirm unto the said Edward H. Rollins, his heirs and assigns forever, A certain tract or parcel of land, with the building thereon, situate on the east side of Main street, in said Concord, bounded and described thus :

Beginning at a stone post at the southwesterly corner of land of Caroline E. Johnson, thence easterly by said Johnson land thirty-five feet to the northeast corner of the brick building on said premises; thence southerly by the east side of said building nine and one half feet; thence easterly by said Johnson land about fifty five and one third feet, to a post at the corner of the fence; thence southerly by said Johnson land about forty three feet to the north line of land of Mrs. Edmund S.

Chadwick ; thence westerly by said Chadwick's land about one hundred and nineteen feet to a stone post standing on the east line of said Main street at the northwest corner of said Chadwick land ; thence northerly by said Main street to the bound began at.

Together with a right of way between said brick building and the house of said Johnson, over land of said Johnson, extending from said Main street to a point two and one half rods easterly of the east side of said brick building.

Reserving the right of occupancy until the first day of March 1869, to the "New Hampshire Historical Society," of the rooms now occupied by said Society.

To have and to hold the said granted premises with all the privileges and appurtenances to the same belonging, to him the said grantee and his heirs and assigns, to his and their only proper use and benefit forever. And the said Bank and its successors and assigns do hereby covenant, grant and agree to and with the said grantee and his heirs and assigns, that until the delivery hereof, it is the lawful owner of said premises and is seized and possessed thereof in its own right in fee simple, and has full power and lawful authority to grant and convey the same in manner aforesaid, that the said premises are free and clear from all and every incumbrance whatsoever ; and that it and its successors, shall and will warrant and defend the same to said grantee and his heirs and assigns, against the lawful claims and demands of any person or persons whomsoever.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty ninth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty nine.

Signed, sealed and delivered,

in presence of us :

JOSIAH G. STILES,

E. S. TOWLE, President. [L. S.]

WM. O. FOLSOM.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, Merrimack ss.

Personally appearing the above named E. S. Towle, for said Bank Corporation, acknowledged the foregoing instrument to be his voluntary act and deed—before me,

Dated the 29th day of January 1869.

WM. O. FOLSOM, Justice of the Peace.

Received February 1, 1869.

Recorded and examined: Attest, WM. O. FOLSOM, Register.

Copied from Merrimack County Records—Book 198. Page 282.

3 3

E. H. R.

June 7,

1869.

3 3

WARRANTY DEED OF BANK
BUILDING.

EDWARD H. ROLLINS TO NEW HAMPSHIRE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS,

That we, Edward H. Rollins of Concord in the County of Merrimack and the state of New Hampshire and Ellen W. Rollins wife of the said Edward H. Rollins, for and in consideration of the sum of three thousand dollars, to us in hand, before the delivery hereof, well and truly paid by the New Hampshire Historical Society, a corporation duly established by law in said state, the receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, have granted, bargained and sold, and by these presents do give, grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeoff, convey and confirm unto the said New Hampshire Historical Society, their successors and assigns forever, a certain lot or parcel of land, with the brick building standing thereon, situate in said Concord on the eastern side of Main street, and bounded and described as follows, to wit: Beginning at a stone post at the South Westerly corner of land of Caroline E. Johnson, thence running Easterly by said Johnson land thirty five feet to the North Easterly corner of the brick building on said premises: thence Southerly by the easterly side of said building nine and one half feet: thence Easterly by said Johnson land about fifty five* and one third feet to a post at the corner of the fence: thence Southerly by said Johnson land about forty three feet to the Northerly line of land of Mrs. Edmund S. Chadwick: thence Westerly by said Chadwick land about one hundred nineteen feet to a stone post standing on the Easterly line of said Main street at the North Westerly corner of said Chadwick land: thence Northerly by said Main street to bound begun at.

* Should be eighty five.

Together with a right of way between said brick building and the house of said Johnson over land of said Johnson, extending from said Main street to a point two and one half rods Easterly of the Eastern side of said brick building.

Meaning hereby to convey all the premises and rights to me conveyed and granted by the Merrimack County Bank by deed dated January 29, 1869, and recorded in Merrimack Records Book 198, Page 282.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said granted premises, with all the privileges and appurtenances to the same belonging, to them the said grantees, and their successors and assigns, to their only proper use and benefit forever, And I the said Edward H. Rollins for myself and my heirs, executors and administrators, do hereby covenant, grant and agree, to and with the said grantees, and their successors and assigns, that until the delivery hereof I am the lawful owner of the said premises, and am seized and possessed thereof in my own right in fee-simple; and have full power and lawful authority to grant and convey the same in manner aforesaid; that the said premises are free and clear from all and every incumbrance whatsoever; and that I and my heirs, executors and administrators, shall and will warrant and defend the same to the said grantees and their successors and assigns, against the lawful claims and demands of any person or persons whomsoever.

And I, Ellen W. Rollins, wife of the said Edward H. Rollins, in consideration aforesaid, do hereby relinquish my right of dower in the before-mentioned premises.

And we and each of us do hereby release, discharge and waive all such rights of exemption from attachment and levy or sale on execution, and such other rights whatsoever in said premises, and in each and every part thereof, as our Family Homestead, as are reserved or secured to us, or either of us, by the statute of the State of New Hampshire, passed July 4, 1851, entitled "An Act to exempt the Homestead of Families from attachment and levy or sale on execution," or by any other statute or statutes of said State.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF we have hereunto set our hands and seals, this Seventh day of June in the year of our Lord 1869.

Signed, sealed and delivered

in presence of us:

HENRY P. ROLFE.

EDWARD H. ROLLINS. seal

CHAS. W. SARGENT.

ELLEN W. ROLLINS. seal

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, Merrimack ss.

Personally appeared the above named Edward H. Rollins & Ellen W. Rollins, acknowledged the foregoing instrument to be their voluntary act and deed—Before me:

Dated the Seventh day of June 1869.

HENRY P. ROLFE, Justice of the Peace.

Merrimack ss. Records. Received June 12, 1869.

Recorded Lib. 195. Fol. 424. Examined—

THOS. M. LANG, Register.

Copied from Deed, in possession of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

AGREEMENT WITH HON. EDWARD H. ROLLINS TO PURCHASE
THE MERRIMACK COUNTY BANK BUILDING FOR THE NEW
HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In case Hon. Edward H. Rollins or his agent shall purchase the Merrimack County Bank building and lot in Concord, for the sum of twenty eight hundred dollars, we agree that if the same shall not within six months after be taken and paid for by or in behalf of the N. H. Historical Society, we will indemnify him against all loss and expense thereby incurred.

Concord, Dec. 29, 1868.

5 5
C. H. B.

CHARLES H. BELL, Dec. 29,
N. BOUTON, 1868.

BENJ. P. STONE, 5 5
EDSON C. EASTMAN,
E. H. ROLLINS,
P. B. COGSWELL.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE PURCHASE OF BANK BUILDING :

We severally promise to pay to the New Hampshire Historical Society the sums set against our respective names, for the purpose of purchasing the late Merrimack County Bank lot, and building in Concord, to be the absolute property of said Society, provided, the sum of three thousand dollars shall be raised, or secured to the Society to make said purchase before the first day of July, 1869.

February 6, 1869.

Onslow Stearns,	Concord,	\$200	
Richard Bradley,	Concord,	200	
E. S. Towle,	Concord,	200	
J. B. Walker,	Concord,	200	
F. N. Fisk,	Concord,	200	\$1000
Franklin Pierce,	Concord,	100	
E. H. Rollins,	Concord,	100	
Isaac Spaulding,	Nashua,	100	
John Proctor,	Andover,	100	400
N. Bouton & son,			
John B. Bouton,	Concord,	50	
Geo. W. Nesmith,	Franklin,	50	
Natt Head,	Hooksett,	50	
Edward A. Abbot,	Concord,	50	
L. Downing, Jr.	Concord,	50	
Edward L. Knowlton,	Concord,	50	
N. G. Upham,	Concord,	50	
Moses Humphrey,	Concord,	50	
Heirs of J. Low,	Concord,	50	
Geo. G. Fogg,	Concord,	50	
John H. George,	Concord,	50	
Barron, Dodge & Co.,	Concord,	50	
Almon Harris,	Boscawen,	50	
Geo. Clough,	Concord,	50	
Geo. A. Pillsbury,	Concord,	50	
Austin F. Pike,	Franklin,	50	
J. Minot,	Concord,	50	850

Benj. P. Stone,	Concord,	\$25	
Samuel C. Eastman,	Concord,	25	
Geo. P. Cleaves,	Concord,	25	
J. P. Bancroft,	Concord,	25	
Anson S. Marshall,	Concord,	25	
B. F. Prescott,	Epping,	25	
Amos Hadley,	Concord,	25	
Ch. W. Sargent,	Concord,	25	
J. S. Brown,	Concord,	25	
John Kimball,	Concord,	25	
Abel Hutchins,	Concord,	25	
Wm. E. Chandler,	Concord,	25	
Mellen Chamberlain,	Concord,	25	
John M. Shirley,	Andover,	25	
L. D. Stevens,	Concord,	25	
George W. Ela,	Allenstown,	25	
M. T. Willard,	Concord,	25	
T. H. Ford,	Concord,	25	
C. Minot,	Concord,	25	
W. P. Ford,	Concord,	25	
Mrs. Woolson &			
Miss Herbert,	Concord,	25	
S. S. Kimball,	Concord,	25	\$550
Simeon Abbot,	Concord,	20	
W. Odlin,	Concord,	15	35
N. W. Gove,	Concord,	10	
Wm. H. Allison,	Concord,	10	
John A. West,	Concord,	10	
S. Seavey,	Concord,	10	
E. G. Parsons,		10	
J. W. Noyes,	Chester,	10	
Calvin Thorn,	Concord,	10	
J. B. Rand,	Concord,	10	
Wm. B. Durgin,	Concord,	10	
J. A. Harris,	Concord,	10	
Lewis Barter,	Concord,	10	
J. W. Woodman,	Hanover,	10	
J. D. Lyman.	Exeter,	10	130

P. B. Cogswell,	Concord,	\$5	
Peter Dudley,	Concord,	5	
Gustavus Walker,	Concord,	5	<u>\$15</u>

COLLECTED BY C. H. BELL:

Jeremiah Smith,	Dover,	\$50	
J. Hamilton Shapley,	Concord,	10	
Francis Cogswell,	Andover,	25	
John J. Bell,	Exeter,	25	
John Nesmith,	Lowell, Mass.	50	
Joseph W. Merrill,	Exeter,	25	
Wm. G. Means,	Andover,	25	
Lucius Alden,	New Castle,	10	
Charles H. Bell,	Exeter,	45	<u>\$265</u>
Raised for purchasing Bank Building—		\$3,245	

LETTER OF HON. C. H. BELL, COMMENDING DR. BOUTON.

Exeter, N. H. 29 June, 1871.

The Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Bouton, of Concord, has consented, in compliance with the request of the New Hampshire Historical Society, to wait upon a few gentlemen of Boston and other places in New England, and lay before them the designs and wishes of the Society, in respect to the preservation of the books and documents in its possession, with a view of soliciting aid, for the purpose.

Dr. Bouton is by appointment of the Executive of this State the compiler of the very valuable series of N. H. Provincial Papers, now in course of publication, and is and for many years has been an officer of the Historical Society. Of course his knowledge, as well as his statements, of the needs and purposes of the Society, may be relied on implicitly. I beg to commend him, and the object of his visit, most cordially to every one to whom this shall be presented.

CHARLES H. BELL,
Pres't N. H. Hist. Society.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR MAKING THE LIBRARY BUILDING
FIRE PROOF.

We, the undersigned, do hereby agree to contribute the sums set against our respective names, to the New Hampshire Historical Society, for the purpose of refitting the Society's building, in Concord, N. H., and making it as far as possible *fire-proof*.

1871-1872.

John A. Parker,	New York,	\$200
Levi P. Morton,	New York,	100
Geo. H. Bissell,	New York,	100
Cyrus P. Smith,	Brooklyn, N. Y.	100
B. P. Cheney,	Boston, Mass.	100
Wm. B. Towne,	Milford,	100
John E. Lyon,	Boston, Mass.	100
Chas. A. Grillis,	Nashua,	50
R. M. Mason,	Boston, Mass.	50
J. Henry Elliott,	Keene,	25
F. E. Parker,	Boston, Mass.	25
J. P. Healy,	Boston, Mass.	25
S. W. Hale,	Keene,	20
Edmund R. Peaslee,	New York,	20
Ch. L. Woodbury,	Boston, Mass.	10
F. A. Faulkner,	Keene,	10
Wm. O. White,	Keene,	10
S. J. Griffin,	Keene,	10
S. D. Osborne,	Keene,	10
M. F. Crosby,	Milford,	10
P. Dodge,	Amherst,	10
W. D. Gookin,	New York,	10
J. P. Huggins,	New York,	10
W. W. Bailey,	Nashua,	10
Virgil C. Gilman,	Nashua,	10
Sam'l T. Worcester,	Nashua,	10
B. B. Whittemore,	Nashua,	10
F. McDuffee,	Rochester,	10
Sam. M. Wheeler,	Dover,	10
David Cross,	Manchester,	10
Geo. B. Twitchell,	Keene,	5

Raised for refitting Library Building—\$1180.

EXPENSES OF DR. BOUTON:

June 26, 1871.	To	Boston-	\$2.07
Aug. 5, "	"	Nashua-	.85
" 23, "	"	Great Falls-	.90
" 24, "	"	Dover-	.80
" 29, "	"	Manchester-	1.00
Sept. 7, "	"	Keene, Fare-	3.75
" 8, "	"	Board Bill-	2.00
" 9, "	"	Keene to Concord-	3.75
" " "	"	Nashua to Amherst-	.35
" " "	"	Milford, for Meal-	.50
" " "	"	Amherst-	1.55
" " "	"	Nashua, for Meal-	.75
" 20 "	"	Expenses to Boston-	4.50
Mar. 19, 1872.		Fare-	2.80
" " "		Meals-	1.45

Total Expenses- \$27.02

Settled in full, June 4, 1872.

N. Bouton.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE PURCHASE OF THE PORTRAIT OF
DUDLEY LEAVITT.

The subscribers agree to pay the sums set against their respective names for the purchase of a portrait of Dudley Leavitt, for the N. H. Historical Society.

March 19, 1875.

C. H. Bell,	Exeter,	\$5
W. H. Y. Hackett,	Portsmouth,	5
T. C. Amory,		3
J. B. Walker,	Concord,	3
S. C. Eastman,	Concord,	5
N. White,	Concord,	5
G. G. Fogg,	Concord,	2
Wm. B. Towne,	Milford,	2
Edson C. Eastman,	Concord,	3

Amount raised for portrait- \$33

AGREEMENT OF LORENZO SABINE'S HEIRS TO
CARRY INTO EFFECT THE CODICIL TO HIS
LAST WILL.

WHEREAS, The Honorable Lorenzo Sabine, late of Boston, Massachusetts, deceased, did by his last will dated 14 February 1876, and duly proved and allowed, give and bequeath to his wife Elizabeth M. D. Sabine, to hold and enjoy for the term of her natural life, his collection of Books, Pamphlets, Manuscripts, Pictures and other articles hereinafter particularly mentioned, and from and after her decease, did give and bequeath the same to his daughters Matilda Green McLaren of Eastport, Maine, and Abby Deering Sabine of said Boston, in equal shares forever : And whereas the said Testator did afterwards draw up a codicil to his said last will, wherein he gave and bequeathed the said books and other articles to the New Hampshire Historical Society upon certain conditions which are in substance included in this instrument, which said codicil the Testator failed to execute :

Now be it known that we the said Matilda Green McLaren and the said Abby Deering Sabine, knowing that the said Testator intended to execute the said codicil, and desirous, so far as it lies in our power to carry his wishes into effect, in consideration thereof and of the sum of one dollar to us paid by the New Hampshire Historical Society, a corporation existing under the laws of New Hampshire, and located in Concord in said State, do by these presents give, grant, sell, convey and confirm to the said Society all the right, title and interest which we and each of us have, in and to the entire Collection of Books, being nearly four thousand in number, which belonged to the said Testator, including the eight bound volumes of his own writings, lettered "Sabine's Writings," including also all his Pamphlets and unbound Books of every description, together with his framed Picture of Members of the Mass-

achusetts Historical Society at a meeting thereof at the house of the President thereof at Brookline, and the Picture of the Testator in a circular frame, and a copy of each of his unframed Pictures of himself, and finally including all his Manuscript, all his Notes of historical reading, all his historical and biographical "Cuttings" from newspapers, meaning in fact to include all the Books and (save those of a family nature,) all the Papers, of which the said Testator died possessed.

To have and to hold the same to the said New Hampshire Historical Society and its successors, from and after the decease of said Elizabeth M. D. Sabine, to their own use, forever.

Upon the unalterable conditions following, namely : That the said New Hampshire Historical Society shall within three months after the decease of said Elizabeth M. D. Sabine take delivery of, and convey to their Rooms, all and singular the articles hereinbefore mentioned ; shall by its By-Laws or Library Regulations, prohibit, by what it shall deem reasonable penalty, the taking away for use or otherwise, of any of the Books from its own proper or Library Rooms, and the word " Books " to be governed by the definition of Webster in the unabridged edition of 1875 marked preceding such definition with the numeral " I " ; shall within one year after the decease of said Elizabeth M. D. Sabine, appoint a Committee of its members to examine and arrange the other articles hereinbefore mentioned not thus defined by Webster, deemed worthy of preservation in book form, and cause them to be cheaply but strongly bound, according to their best judgment : and upon the further unalterable condition that within one year after the decease of said Elizabeth M. D. Sabine, all the said Books, Pamphlets, Manuscripts, Pictures and other articles hereinbefore mentioned shall be arranged in a single room, or in rooms adjacent, there ever after to remain, save the short separations consequent on removals or fires ; and that the said Collection shall always be known as "*the Sabine Library.*"

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this day of, 12 October, A. D. 1878.

In presence of

ABBY DEERING SABINE. (Seal).

MATILDA G. S. McLAREN. (Seal).

GENERAL INDEX.

- Acts and resolves of the legislature in favor of the N. H. Historical Society, 459-463: An act giving 5 copies of history of N. H. regiments, 460; 1 copy of index to state laws, 460; 1 copy of Journals of Senate and House, 460; 1 copy of revised Public Statutes, 462; 50 copies of State Papers, 459; 2 copies of all printed town reports in the state, 462; 2 copies of catalogues of all educational institutions incorporated by the state, 463; appropriating \$500 per annum to keep open library, 462; 1 copy of the printed laws of each session, 462.
- Addresses and papers: Aldrich, Judge Edgar, "Our Northern Boundary: Provisional Government of the Indian Stream Territory, etc.," 366; Ditto, Appendix, 397; Bartlett, Rev. Samuel C., D. D., LL. D., "Dr. John Wheelock," 408; Bell, Hon. John J., "Municipal Institutions," 182, "The Study of History," 321; Corning, Hon. Charles R., "Hannah Dustan," 122; Cross, Rev. Allen E., "Ratification of U. S. Constitution"—Poem, 37; Eastman, Hon. Samuel C., "Tendencies Towards Socialism," 223; Hadley, Hon. Amos, "History of Hillsborough," 333, "History of Franklin," 402; Hammond, Mr. Isaac W., "New Hampshire under the Federal Constitution," 107; Hazen, Rev. Henry A., D. D., "New Hampshire and Vermont: A Historical Study," 265; Jordan, Chester B., "Col. Joseph Whipple," 289; Patterson, Hon. James W., LL. D., "The Ratification of the U. S. Constitution," 13; Sargent, Harry G., "The Bradley Massacre," 152; Slafter, Rev. Edmund F., D. D., "The Discovery of America," 65; Stearns, Hon. Ezra S., "The Offering of Lunenburg, Mass., to Cheshire County," 92; Waite, Maj. Otis F. R., "The Early History of Claremont," 234.
- Agreement of Lorenzo Sabine's heirs to carry into effect the codicil to his last will, 484.
- Agreement with Edward H. Rollins to purchase Merrimack County Bank building for Historical Society, 478.
- Ancestry of Charles H. Bell, 209.
- Assessment of annual tax, 11, 90, 180, 220, 264, 288, 361.
- Bradley Massacre, 152-174: Monument, 152; seven years' war in Europe, 153; suspension of hostilities, 153; origin of the war, 154; N. H. expedition to Louisburg, 155; Capt. Eastman's company, 156; Canada expedition, 156; Indian ravages, 157; attack at Rochester, 158; Rumford exempt, 158; first settlers of Penacook, 159; location of first meeting-house, 159; Walker's garrison built, 159; Rumford alarmed and seeks aid, 160; two companies raised, 161; how garrisons were built, 161; garrisons appointed by committee, 162; location, 162-165; propriety of durable monuments, 165; settlement of 100 houses, 165; Indian preparations to attack Rumford, 166; fight near site of monument, 167; journal of Abner Clough, 167-168; Reuben Abbott's account, 169-170; the Eastmans and Bradleys, 171; William Stickney's captivity, and Alexander Robert's escape, 172; legislative resolution to reward, 173; erection of monument, 173; changes since, 174.
- Centennial of U. S. constitution: banquet, 39; letter of George Washington, 47; letters of regret, Blair, Henry W., 49; Coxe, Brinton, 59; Darling, C. W., 50; Dean, John W., 58; Field, Walbridge A., 57; Jones, J. Wyman, 52; Kasson, John A., 52; King, John A., 59; Pickard, Joseph L., 53; Pingree, Samuel E., 56; Preston, Will. A., 57; Reeve, C. H., 55;

- responses to toasts, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46;
toasts, 40, 42, 44, 45, 46.
- Communications: Baker, Henry M.,
photo-lithograph copy of order of
Gen. John A. Dix, 263; topograph-
ical maps, 358; Eastman, Samuel C.,
Plumer's Memoirs, 364.
- Constitution of U. S., Ratification of,
12-37: N. H. ninth state to ratify, 13;
a crime for colonists to manufacture,
sell, or buy, save in British markets,
15; their laws annulled, 15; asserted
the right not to be taxed without
their consent, 15; congress recom-
mends commercial non-intercourse,
16; each colony given one vote, 17;
Gen. Washington elected command-
er-in-chief of colonial forces, 17; a
plan of civil government prepared
and sent out to the states for accept-
ance, 19; articles of confederation
ratified, 19; confronting difficulties,
21; movement to revise articles of
confederation, 22; Washington
elected president, 23; two drafts of
federal government presented, 24;
amendments introduced, 25; N. H.
elects delegates to constitutional
convention, 27; generosity of Lang-
don, 28; the constitution finally
drafted, 29; a compromise of antago-
nistic views, 30; states ratifying, 31;
Madison's letter to Washington, 32;
N. H. consummates the ratification,
34; when known great rejoicing, 35.
- Claremont, Early History of, 234-255:
First settlement in 1762, 234; condi-
tions of grant, 234; first meeting of
grantees, 235; first mills built, 236;
first couple married, 236; first settled
minister, 237; second, 238; first
mass, 239; Congregationalist society
formed, 239; Baptist, Methodist, and
Universalist, 240; Tousa, 241; Clare-
mont in Battle of Bennington, 242;
no favor shown Tories, 242; Tory
Hole, 243; suspected parties, 244;
selectmen's canvass, 245; declara-
tion of sentiments, 246; surrendering
fire-arms, 247; Claremont in the Re-
bellion, 248; governor's reservation,
249; distinguished men, 250-251;
Claremont's present equipment, 254.
- Deeds of Bradley Monument lot: Ab-
ner Colby to Richard Bradley, 464;
Richard Bradley to N. H. Hist. So-
ciety, 466; Merrimack Co. Bank to
Nathaniel Bouton, 468; Mrs. Emily
Chadwick, 471; Edward H. Rollins,
473; Edward H. Rollins to N. H.
Historical Society, 476.
- Discovery of America, 65-83; Green-
land discovered, 66; other discov-
eries, 67, 68; death of Thorvard, 69;
another exploring expedition, 70;
ancient writings of the discovery of
America, 71; Icelandic parchments,
72; written before Columbus' time, 73;
Newfoundland first discovered, 75;
description, 76, 77; changes since, 77;
no monuments found, 79; skeleton in
armor, 80; Northmen's residence in
America temporary, 82.
- Dustan, Hannah, 122-151: Louis XIV
at Versailles, 123; fitting out expedi-
tions to Canada, 125; plan of cam-
paign, 126; the Five Nations, 127;
essentially democratic, 129; greedy
of land, 130; alliance of Iroquois with
the English, 130; change of battle-
ground, 131; treaty of the Abenakis
and English, 132; the French alarmed,
132; Bigot and Thury, 133; breaches
of English faith, 134; Indian charac-
teristics, 135; condition of N. H. peo-
ple, 136; garrisons, 137; houses
about Haverhill, Mass., constructed
for shelter and defence, 138; methods
of Indian attack, 140; captures at
Haverhill, 141; among them Hannah
Dustan and nurse, 141; killing cap-
tors, 143; story worthy of credence,
146; canoe theory of escape unten-
able, 147; deposition of Hannah
Bradley, 149; reward voted, 151;
Mrs. Dustan's subsequent history
vague, 151.
- Expenses of Dr. Bouton in soliciting
subscriptions for library building,
483.
- Field-day, 1889, 121; 1890, 198; 1891, 233;
1892, 278; 1893, 332; 1894, 400.
- Franklin, History of, 402-404: Fortu-
nate in situation, 402; formed from
four townships, 402-403; first settle-
ment in Salisbury, 403; Indian attack,
403; sharer of her mother's honors,
404.
- Hillsborough, History of, 333-347: Mas-
sachusetts guarding her interests,
334; vexed boundary question de-
cided, 335; first settler in Hillsbor-
ough, 335; Indian invasion and cap-
ture, 336; additional settlers, 337;

- first town meeting, 338; first pastor, 339; pastor's death, 340; successors, 341; first physician and schoolmaster, 341; Capt. Baldwin and company march to Bunker Hill, 343; Hillsborough in the Rebellion, 343; eminent sons, 344-345; release of prisoners, 345; source of Hillsborough's prosperity, 347.
- History, Study of, 321-330: A means of larger experience, 322; examples, 323; the early history of N. H. unwritten, 324; controversies not yet settled, 325; controversy with New York, 327; Indian Stream territory, 327; Wheelwright deed, 328; N. H. constitution, 329; continuance in the study of N. H. history desired, 330.
- Indian Stream Territory, 366-397:
 Things to make a nation great, 366; Carthage and Rome, 367; boundary between Great Britain and America, 367; previous boundary, 368; inability to trace it, 369; treaty description of north-eastern boundary, 370; the Webster-Ashburton treaty, 371; early the boundaries ill-defined, 372; maps used during treaty negotiations, 373; assumed governmental importance of water-ways of Maine, 374; dispute about Connecticut head waters, 375; a map of the disputed territory particularizing bounds ordered, and such bounds to be conclusive, 376; delay in establishing true bounds causes intense local controversy, 377; deed of Phillip, Indian chief, 378; N. H. repudiates Indian title, 379; failure to establish bounds, 1814, 379; N. H. considered Hall's stream the true boundary, 480; preamble to constitution of government of Indian Stream territory, 381; rendered necessary by inertness, or suspension of claims of the two countries, 382; two parts to constitution, 383; act to establish courts of justice and prevent unlawful service of process, 384; N. H. asserts its jurisdiction, 385; Indian Stream government resists, 385; suspension of jurisdiction asked, 386; claimed by U. S. government, 387; Canadians advocate resistance to N. H. laws, 388; Indian Stream occupied by military force, 389; story of proceedings, 390; Lord Gosford protests, 391; dis-
- patches between the two general governments, 392; N. H. legislature favors continuance of state possession, 393; Webster-Ashburton treaty gives N. H. all her claims, 394; neither party to exercise jurisdiction pending negotiations, 395; boundary finally settled, 396; general government assumes expenses, 396.
- Letter of B. A. Kimball to Historical society, 218; J. B. Walker to Mrs. Sabine, 362, 363; Mrs. E. M. D. Sabine to J. B. Walker, 363; Charles H. Bell, commending Dr. Bouton, 481.
- Members of N. H. Historical Society:
 Corresponding, 4, 10, 62, 63, 85, 91, 175, 176, 181, 288, 360; list of, 1874 to 1895, 442; honorary, 4, 62, 64, 85, 91, 176, 279, 333, 360, 401, 404; list of, 1874 to 1895, 440; life, 200; resident, 4, 10, 62, 63, 64, 85, 91, 120, 121, 175, 181, 261, 279, 288, 333, 349, 360, 364, 401, 405, 408, 445; list of, 1874 to 1895, 445; active, 1895, 453.
- Municipal institutions, 182-197: A fruitful field of study, 182; the burgh of the middle ages, 183; modification on American soil, 184; early settlers, 184; their settlements hardly permanent, 185; religious and political tenets of the cavalier type, 186; pilgrims of Plymouth, 187; Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, 188; dream of a Christian commonwealth, 189; introducers of municipal government into New England, 189; composition of N. H. towns, 190-1; towns democratic republics, 192; the genius of town-meeting, 193; future influence of town system, 193; a better system than before known, 194; failure in cities not prophetic of final failure, 195; present needs, 196.
- Necrology: Bell, John J., 331; Gage, Isaac K., 427; Prescott, Benjamin F., 431; Secomb, Daniel F., 430.
- New Hampshire and Vermont, 265-277:
 Historic Parallels, 265; N. H. older, 266; romance in beginnings, 266; Lovewell's expedition, 267; Vermont vies with N. H. in the picturesque and romantic elements, 267; the superiority of her name, 268; what N. H. missed, 268; population scant, 269; N. H. misses a great opportunity, 270; founding Dartmouth College, 271; dear to colonists on both sides

- of the river, 272; compacts made and dissolved, 273; influence of Dartmouth College, 274; sons and daughters the best product of the state, 275; what of the future? 278; Historical Society to be congratulated, 277.
- N.H. under the federal constitution, 107-119; constitution of N. H., 108; convention to make draft, 109; unsuccessful attempts, 110; industries, 111; methods of transportation, 112; stage lines established, 113; railroads and canal schemes, 114; mail service, 114; schools few, 115; a self-reliant people, 116; many occupying leading positions in other states, 116; N. H. a great sanitarium, 117; the federal constitution, 118; under it the state has attained prosperity, 119.
- Offering of Lunenburg, Mass., to Cheshire County, 92-107; Lunenburg a prolific mother of towns, 93; petition to Gov. Dummer, 94; first and second immigrations, 95; petition for grant, 96; meeting of grantees, 97; settlement of Earlington, 98; a prominent actor, 99; boundaries annulled, 101; attention directed to Charles-town, 103; Walpole chartered, 104; massacres and captures, 106; Cheshire County rapidly settled, 107.
- Officers, 1823 to 1895: auditors, 435; committees, library, 439; publishing, 437; standing, 436; librarians, 435; necrologists, 435; presidents, 433; vice, first, 433; second, 434; secretaries, corresponding, 434; recording, 434; treasurers, 434.
- Officers, election of, 1888, 8; 1889, 91; 1890, 179; 1891, 219; 1892, 261; 1893, 286; 1894, 359.
- Petition to Gov. Dummer, 94.
- Presentations: Bust of Lafayette, with pedestal, 213; photo-lithographic copy of Gen. Dix's order, 263; topographical maps of counties, 358.
- Ratification of U. S. Constitution, Centennial, 72.
- Report of committee on naval history, 284; Plumer Memoirs, majority, 405; minority, 406; librarian, 1888, 7; 1889, 87; 1890, 178; 1891, 216; 1892, 259; 1893, 282; 1894, 352; papers in vault, 10; publishing committee, 1888, 9; 1889, 89; 1891, 218; 1894, 357; standing committee, Sabine Library, 355, 362; storage committee, 221; treasurer, 1888, 5; 1889, 86; 1890, 177; 1891, 215; 1892, 258; 1893, 281; 1894, 351.
- Resolutions: Amending articles of confederation, 26; concerning census of war veterans, 62; death of Isaac K. Gage, 366; depositing MS. records in Society's vaults, 221; discussion on nationality of early settlers, 64; appointing orator for annual meeting, 180; erecting new alcoves, 222; keeping open library, 120; payment of centennial expenses, 62; preparing naval history for publication, 286; provincial convention of N. H., 109; publications, 261; safe keeping of Sullivan papers, 182; statue of Gen. Stark, 197; storage of articles, 221; appropriating \$250 for new books, 261; inviting persons to deposit church records in Society's vaults, 221; of sympathy for Librarian Hammond's illness, 176; thanking B. A. Kimball for bust of Lafayette, 214; citizens of Franklin for courtesies, 401; Maj. Waite for historical address, 255; J. E. Sargent for his efficient services as president, 91; Tremont Club for use of rooms, 255.
- Salary of librarian, 120.
- Storage, the report of committee on, 221.
- Subscriptions for making the library building fire proof, 482; the purchase of bank building, 479; the purchase of portrait of Dudley Leavitt, 483.
- Sullivan papers, acceptance of, 178.
- Tendencies towards Socialism, 223-232: Great changes in social and civil relations, 223; slow revolutions as important, 224; has a silent revolution begun? 224; Society's limitations of rights, 225; definition of socialism, 225; Bellamy's Looking Backward, 226; first duty of the state to protect the individual in life and property, 226; second, coöperation, 227; socialists' idea of products of labor, 228; state institutions, 228; changes in branches of production, 229; trades' unions, 230; facts show a drifting away from individualism, 230; two classes dissatisfied with existing society, 231; socialistic demands, 231; are we not silently submitting to a tendency to something more than the theory, 232.

Vote to accept loan of portrait of Gov. Benjamin Pierce, 190; accept Sullivan papers, 178; appropriate \$100 for new books, 199; authorize librarian to extend gas-piping to library, and procure fixtures, 405; make B. A. Kimball a committee to look after legislation affecting the society, 405; publish Plumer papers, 348; purchase N. H. town histories, 349.

Wheelock, Dr. John, 408-426: sources of information, 408-9; birth and early life, 409; in college and army, 409; charter giving the first president the right to appoint his successor, 410; energetic in improving finances, 411; buiding of Dartmouth hall, 412; Vermont legislature grants the town of Wheelock, one half to go for the college, 412; erecting chapel, 413; assisting professors, 414; dissensions, 414; investigation asked, 415; legislative control, 415; some trustees and professors refuse to accept the situation, 416; Wheelock appointed president, and soon died, 416; judgments of him, 417; great intellectual abilities, 417; an effective writer, 418; formulated charges, 419; weak and vague, 420; his chartered rights abridged by his summary removal, 420; the real ground of controversy the question

of the legitimate relation between the president and trustees, 422; trustees precipitate and unwise, 423; Mason's warning, 423; administration of the college sustained on slender funds, 425; blunders, 425.

Whipple, Col. Joseph, 289-319: no ordinary man, 290; had a large acquaintance, 291; original name, 292; ancestry, 292-4; old homestead, 294; Whipple mansion, 295; birth and boyhood, 296-7; school days, 298; the old church, 298; love of adventure, 299; first white man to make a home at Dartmouth, 300; Granny Stalbird, 301; Nancy Barton, 301; a growing commerce demanding better roads, 302; Col. Whipple's inventory, 303; large landowner, 303; collector at Portsmouth, 304; a faithful public servant, 305; payer of pensions, 306; on Mt. Washington, 307; wearing apparel of the times, 308; his foresight, 308; selling grain only to neighbors, 309; his intense patriotism, 310; his ruse to escape Indians, 311; buying and selling real estate, 313; sympathetic and generous, 314; a man of enlarged views of needed improvements, 314; extracts from his will, 314-17; seeing results, 318; his death, 319.

INDEX OF NAMES.

- Abbott, Amos, 162; Benjamin, 164; Edward, 163, 164; George, 164; Isaac, 156; James, 162; James, Jr., 162; Joseph, 156; Mr., 170; Nathaniel, 156, 163, 172; Nathaniel, Jr., 163; Reuben, 162, 169.
- Aber, Mr., 198.
- Adams, Hannah, 406; Henry, 353; Francis, 304; John, 370, 373, 411; J. G., 240; Prof., 414, 415.
- Akerman, Joseph, 299; Samuel, 299.
- Albee, John, 9, 87.
- Albert, Charles, 154.
- Aldrich, Edgar, 320, 356, 366, 400.
- Allen, Ethan, 237; Samuel C., 417; William, 408, 409, 411.
- Amory, R. A., 178, 179; Thomas C., 120.
- Andrews, Ammi, 343; Isaac, 337, 338, 339.
- Annis, Daniel, 162.
- Appleton, Joanna, 293, Samuel, 293.
- Arnold, Benedict, 79.
- Arthur, Chester A., 432.
- Ashburton, Lord, 334.
- Ashley, Col., 102; Oliver, 245; Samuel, 234, 253.
- Atherton, Joshua, 33, 34.
- Atkins, Timothy, 241, 242.
- Atkinson, Theodore, 157, 313.
- Ayer, F. D., 39, 282, 354.
- Aylmer, Lord, 392.
- Badger, Gov., 389, 392, 397, 399.
- Baker, Henry M., 63, 87, 262, 263, 354, 358, 404.
- Balch, W. S., 240.
- Balcom, George L., 8, 13, 176, 219, 221, 222, 233, 257, 349, 364.
- Baldwin, Isaac, 338, 339.
- Ballard, John, 357.
- Bankhead, Charles, 391.
- Banks, Charles E., 354.
- Barber, Daniel, 239, 252; Virgil H., 239.
- Barnard, Francis, 373.
- Barnes, Jonathan, 339, 340, 341.
- Bartlett, Ichabod, 414; Josiah, 32, 290; Samuel C., 39, 43, 408.
- Barton, Nancy, 301, 302.
- Batchellor, A. S., 9, 90, 91, 263, 264, 278, 279, 289, 320, 333, 354, 356, 357, 360.
- Batchelder, Doctor, 246.
- Bateman, M., 86.
- Bean, John, 152, 167, 168, 170, 172, 173.
- Bedell, Col., 409; Hazen, 399.
- Bell, Charles H., 9, 10, 63, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 120, 178, 179, 181, 197, 209, 211, 219, 349, 355, 478, 481; Mrs. Charles H., 354; Elizabeth T., 209; John, 209; John, 209, 210; John, 210; John J., 91, 121, 180, 181, 182, 197, 213, 219, 920, 221, 234, 256, 262, 264, 279, 321, 331, 357; Mrs. John J., 321; Judge, 416; Mary A. G., 210; Mary H., 331; Persis F., 210; Samuel, 210; Samuel D., 331.
- Belknap, Doctor, 306, 307, 320.
- Bellows, A. H., 431; Benjamin, 95, 97, 101, 103, 104; Benjamin, 104, 105; Henry A., 431; Henry W., 104; Joanna, 103; John, 105; Joseph, 105; Josiah, 105; Peter, 102, 105; Theodore, 105; Thomas, 105.
- Bemaine, George, 341.
- Bennett, Sarah N., 256.
- Benton, Thomas H., 398.
- Billings, Hannah, 298.
- Bingham, James H., 364.
- Blair, Henry W., 49, 278.
- Blake, Amos J., 199.
- Blanchard, David, 399; Joseph, 95, 99, 164.
- Blinn, Henry C., 63, 64, 354.
- Blomberg, Anton, 408.
- Bouton, Nathaniel, 173, 463, 469, 471, 478, 481, 483.
- Boylston, Edward D., 354.
- Boynton, Hilkiah, 97.
- Brackett, Hannah, 317; Joshua, 296.
- Bradley, Abiah, 171; Abraham, 162, 171; Hannah, 149, 151; Jeremiah, 163;

- John, 152, 171; Jonathan, 152, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 173; Joseph, 171; Moses, 173; Richard, 152, 173, 174, 464, 465, 466, 467; Samuel, 152, 171, 173, 178; Samuel, 152, 167.
- Bradford, Lt. Samuel, 338, 339; Samuel, 338, 339, 342, 343.
- Brewster, Samuel, 299.
- Bridge, Ebenezer, 206.
- Brooks, Benjamin, 235; John, 242, 246.
- Brown, Francis, 414, 422, 424; J. B., 302; Maria E., 11; Titus O., 302.
- Bucknam, Gen., 303, 304.
- Bunker, Andrew, 5.
- Burbank, Timothy, 163.
- Burleigh, Alvin, 279.
- Burroughs, 415; Eden, 423.
- Bush, Prof., 414.
- Butler, B. F., 178.
- Butler, Valentine, 95, 98.
- Cabot, John, 73.
- Cady, Albe, 87.
- Calfe, John, 32.
- Calhoun, John C., 393.
- Call, Phillip, 403; Stephen, 403.
- Campbell, Douglass, 353.
- Carlton, Daniel, 102.
- Carroll, Charles, 369.
- Carson, Hampton L., 39, 44, 59.
- Carter, Abigail, 166; Ephraim, 163; Ezra, 163, 166; Joseph, 163; N. F., 213, 221, 222, 258, 282, 351, 359, 360, 361, 401, 404; Nathaniel, 298.
- Cass, Lewis, 297.
- Chadwick, Edmund S., 471; Mrs. E. S., 474; 476; Emily, 471; J. H., 469.
- Chamberlain, Mellen, 39, 49; Prof., 414.
- Chandler, Abiel, 162, 169; Isaac, 160; John, 161; Mr., 156.
- Chapman, Doctor, 416.
- Chase, Daniel, 164; Daniel Jr., 164.
- Chesley, I. T., 215; W. C., 215.
- Childs, Ruthven, 322; Mrs. R., 332.
- Choate, Rufus, 426.
- Christie, Daniel M., 414.
- Citizen, Isaac, 163.
- Clark, John B., 357; Joseph, 299; Mary C., 174.
- Cleaves, George P., 354.
- Clemens, Timothy, 163.
- Clough, Abner, 167; Jeremiah, 161.
- Cochrane, Mrs. A., 354.
- Coffin, Charles C., 39; Samuel, 470.
- Cogswell, P. B., 87, 217, 260, 264, 286, 351, 361, 478.
- Colby, Abner, 464, 465, 466; Ira, 4; Lampson, 163; Lot, 163.
- Cole, Samuel, 246, 247, 254.
- Columbus, Christopher, 73.
- Cook, Howard M., 282, 354; Timothy, 403.
- Coolidge, A. J., 397.
- Conn, Mary, 107.
- Corning, Charles R., 12, 122, 198, 199, 219.
- Cossit, Ranna, 238, 239, 246, 247.
- Costigan, John, 397.
- Coxe, Brinton, 61.
- Crosby, Nathan, 409, 417, 422, 424.
- Cross, Allen E., 12, 37, 39, 45.
- Cummings, E. E., 174.
- Curry, William, 162.
- Cutler, Manassah, 44, 307, Dorcas, 105.
- Cutt, Edward, 299; John, 293, 294; Mary, 293; Mary W., 294; Richard, 293, 299; Robert, 293, 294; Robert, 2d, 294.
- Cutter, Jacob, 229.
- Cushing, Edmund L., 103; Gov., 373; John, 99.
- Cyr, Narcisse, 353.
- Dana, Sylvester, 4, 11, 85, 91, 189, 213, 214, 407.
- Daniell, Warren F., 401, 404; Miss, 401.
- Danforth, Charles C., 199.
- Darling, John, 106; C. W., 51.
- Darrah, W. M., 5.
- Davis, B. B., 46; Samuel, 106.
- Dean, John W., 58, 354.
- Dearborn, J. J., 400.
- Demerit, John, 87.
- Dix, John A., 263.
- Dodge, Isaac B., 281; Noah, 101.
- Door, Jonathan, 158.
- Dow, Lorenzo, 240.
- Downe, William, 106.
- Downs, Gresham, 158.
- Draper, Eli, 252.
- Dresser, Jeremiah, 162.
- Drew, Amos W., 399; Irving W., 399; Mary B., 398.
- Duane, James, 36.
- Dumas, Stebbins H., 198.
- Dunsmoor, John, 102.
- Durant, Jonathan, 338.
- Dustan, Hannah, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 219; Thomas, 151.
- Dustin, Caleb, 240.
- Eames, Jeremiah, 310, 311; Thomas, 378.
- Eastman, Amos, 163; Ebenezer, 156, 162, 170, 172; Ebenezer, Jr., 162; Edson C., 9, 62, 221, 280, 354, 478; Jeremiah, 162; Jonathan, 160, 163, 166; Joseph, 163; Joseph, Jr., 162; Joseph 3d, 163; Philip, 162; Samuel, 163;

- Samuel C., 5, 8, 12, 39, 40, 42, 43, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 198, 220, 222, 223, 282, 283, 354, 356, 357, 361, 364, 365, 406, 408.
- Easty, John, 338.
- Ellis, Barnabas, 236, 237; Caleb, 251; William B., 237.
- Ellsworth, Oliver, 31.
- Elwell, E. H., 39.
- Elwin, Alfred L., 365.
- Emery, Capt., 169.
- Erik, 65, 67, 70.
- Erlendsson, Hauk, 72.
- Estcourt, I. B. B., 399.
- Evans, David, 163; Ira C., 86, 177; Israel, 413; W. Y., 354.
- Farley, Stephen, 251.
- Farnham, Roswell, 407.
- Farnsworth, Isaac, 96, 101, 102; Samuel, 101, 102, 106; David, 107; Stephen, 101, 102, 106.
- Farnum, Barachias, 159; Ephraim, 162; Joseph, 162; Zebadiah, 162.
- Farrar, Mr., 418; Timothy, 45.
- Farrington, Stephen, 164.
- Fay, H. C., 256.
- Fellows, James, 472.
- Ferguson, W. A., 380.
- Field, Walbridge A., 57.
- Fisher, George P., 353.
- Fisk, John, 374; Francis N., 471, 472; Samuel, 253; William P., 4, 5, 6, 9, 87, 91, 177, 216, 259, 280, 281, 282, 351, 352; Prof., 414.
- Fitz, John H., 199.
- Flanders, John, 399.
- Fletcher, Capt., 373; Hiram A., 398; Judge, 414; Richard, 398.
- Fogg, George G., 431.
- Folsom, William O., 474, 475; A. A., 39; Susanna, 171.
- Ford, William P., 159.
- Forsyth, Mr., 386, 387, 392, 393, 395, 397.
- Foster, David, 163; Joseph, 106, 320; Obadiah, 162.
- Franklin, Benjamin, 411.
- Freeman, Peyton R., 299.
- French, Daniel, 239; John C., 279.
- Frisbie, F. S., 354.
- Freydis, 70.
- Fullam, Francis, 106.
- Gage, Gov., 15; Isaac K., 4, 9, 85, 87, 177, 181, 198, 199, 213, 216, 221, 222, 233, 257, 259, 279, 280, 282, 320, 332, 351, 352, 354, 360, 365, 366, 427, 428; John, 427; William H., 427.
- Gallatin, Albert, 398.
- Gardner, Andrew, 99, 100, 101, 107; Andrew Jr., 99, 100; Mary S., 99; Samuel, 306.
- Garfield, James A., 432.
- Garvin, Patrick, 163.
- Gates, Gen., 410.
- George, Henry, 226; John P., 354.
- Gerould, Samuel L., 354.
- Gerrish, Mrs. Enoch, 354.
- Gerry, Elbridge, 313.
- Gibson, Elizabeth, 336, 337; Israel, 102; John, 338; Samuel, 335, 336, 338.
- Gile, W. A., 404.
- Giles, Benjamin, 247.
- Gilman, Daniel, 167; Gov., 420; John T., 32; Nicholas, 27.
- Gilmore, George C., 279; James, 209; Jean B., 210; Mary A., 209.
- Goddard, John, 299.
- Goffe, John, 302.
- Goodale, D. W., 332; Mrs. D. W., 332.
- Goodell, William, 414.
- Goodridge, Phillp, 94.
- Gordon, Eliza A. D., 43.
- Gosford, Lord, 391, 393.
- Gotham, Mr., 312.
- Gould, Moses, 95, 106; S. C., 361; S. G., 176.
- Graham, James, 335.
- Graves, E. E., 351, 360.
- Gray, Samuel, 164.
- Greeley, Mrs., E. H., 217.
- Green, S. A., 354.
- Grimolfson, Bjarni, 67, 68, 70.
- Grout Elijah, 247; Hilkiah, 106.
- Gustin, John, 238; Thomas, 238, 245.
- Hackett, Frank M., 354.
- Haddock, Charles B., 414.
- Hadley, Amos, 8, 11, 12, 13, 39, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 91, 119, 120, 121, 122, 151, 175, 176, 180, 197, 213, 219, 221, 222, 254, 280, 333, 348, 351, 357, 358, 361, 401, 402, 405, 407, 408.
- Haile, John, 107; Samuel W., 107; William, 107.
- Hale, John P., 393, 398.
- Hall, Ebenezer, 163; Edward E., 39, 44; Joseph, 263; Lewis, 467; Prof., 414.
- Hamilton, Andrew, 115; Alexander, 26, 29, 36; Robert R., 59; W. G., 61.
- Hammond, Dorcas, 294; Isaac W., 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 61, 63, 64, 85, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 107, 120, 121, 175, 176, 177, 178, 215, 219; Major, 294; Otis G., 177, 178.
- Hancock, John, 31, 313.
- Harper, Joseph M., 470.
- Hart, Josiah, 241; Richard, 299.
- Haarfager, Harald, 65.

- Hartwell, Asahel, 101; Edward, 101; Edward, Jr., 101; Josiah, 106.
 Haven, Nathaniel, 87.
 Hazelton, Richard, 164.
 Hazen, Henry A., 89, 46, 261, 265, 277, 357.
 Haynes, Henry W., 81.
 Henry, Elizabeth K., 107; Eunice, 107; George, 107; Patrick, 17, 35; William, 106, 107.
 Herbert, Richard, 468.
 Herrick, Fanny C., 430.
 Hervey, Hetta M., 354.
 Heywood, John, 101; Nathan, 96, 101.
 Hibbard, Augustine, 238.
 Hicks, Benjamin, 301; David, 301; Justus, 301.
 Hight, James, 301; Mrs. James, 311.
 Hill, Isaac, 392, 393, 469, 470; J. C. A., 9, 12, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 86, 91, 264, 282, 354, 357; John, 335, 337, 338, 340; William, 299.
 Hillman, A. T., 282.
 Hitchcock, Ichabod, 244.
 Hobart, David, 238.
 Hoit, Abner, 163; Jacob, 163; Stephen, 163.
 Hooker, Thomas, 271.
 Hooper, Addie F., 86.
 Howard, T. D., 256.
 Howe, James B., 252; William B. W., 252.
 Hoyt, Albert H., 39.
 Hubbard, David, 106; George, 249; Hannah, 101; Isaac, 249, 250; John, 105; John, 105; John, Rev., 105; Jonathan, 95, 102, 103, 106; Maj. Jonathan, 101, 103, 105; Oliver P., 414; Rebecca B., 103, 105.
 Hull, George, 163.
 Humphrey, Moses, 64.
 Humphreys, Col., 48.
 Hurd, John, 310; Joseph, 158.
 Hutchins, Phineas, 106.
 Hutchinson, E. B., 215.
 Ives, William B., 397.
 Jackson, Henry M., 354.
 Jacob, Judge, 415, 420.
 Jay, John, 36, 59.
 Jefferson, Thomas, 35, 304.
 Jennison, Abigail, 104; John, 95, 105; Mary H., 105; Mary S., 104; Samuel, 104.
 Jewell, James, 101.
 Johnson, Caroline E., 473, 474, 476, 477; James, 102, 106; Mrs. James, 106; Reuben, 427; Susan G., 427; Samuel, 105; William S., 29.
 Jones, Asa, 245; J. Wyman, 53; Nathaniel, 373; William, 101; William H., 263.
 Jordan, Chester B., 265, 288, 289, 357.
 Karlsefni, Thorfinn, 70.
 Kasson, John A., 52.
 Kent, Henry O., 378.
 Kendall, Amos, 414.
 Kennedy, Samuel, 106.
 Kimball, Aaron, 164; Abraham, 166; Benjamin A., 12, 213, 214, 405; Ephraim, 103; John, 10, 64, 176, 179, 261, 264, 279, 280, 286, 349, 357; John R., 258; Philip, 162.
 King, John A., 59; Rufus, 29.
 Kilpatrick, Samuel, 106.
 Kingsbury, Banford, 252, 253.
 Kneeland, Samuel, 80.
 Knowles, Com., 157.
 Knox, Gen., 313, 373; Henry, 46, 48; Mrs., 48.
 Ladd, Alexander H., 313; Daniel, 158, 166, 169, 171.
 Lafayette, Gen., 214, 298, 313, 343.
 Lamprey, Charles M., 199.
 Lane, Thomas M., 478.
 Langdon, John, 27, 28, 29, 33, 45, 46, 290, 298, 299, 313; John Jr., 299; Samuel, 45; Woodbury, 290.
 Lavender, Miss, 332; Mrs., 332; Stephen, 332.
 Leavitt, Albert, 199; Dudley, 483.
 Lee, Gen., 425.
 Lefort, M., 63.
 Lief, 65, 67, 69, 70, 75, 76.
 Leonardson, Samuel, 150, 151.
 Lincoln, Gen., 379.
 Linehan, John C., 122, 279.
 Little, Daniel, 307; William, 341.
 Livermore, Daniel, 89; Chancellor, 46; Edward, St. L., 290; Samuel, 32, 33, 34.
 Livius, Peter, 89.
 Lombard, Lyman, 399.
 Longstreet, Gen., 425.
 Loring, George B., 39, 46.
 Lossing, Benjamin J., 37.
 Lovejoy, Benjamin, 338; Henry, 162.
 Lovewell, John, 267; Zaccheus, 164.
 Low, Joseph, 389, 390, 393, 398, 465, 469, 470; Ad. Gen., 392.
 Lowe, David, 106.
 Lowell, James R., 256.
 Lufkin, John, 152, 167, 168, 170, 172, 173.
 Lund, Lydia F., 165.
 Lynde, David, 234, 235.
 Lyon, James, 335.

- Madison, James, 29, 32.
Magnusen, Flinn, 68.
Maltby, John, 410.
Mann, Edward C., 354.
Mansfield, J. B, 397.
Marsh, Charles, 423; M., 418; Pres., 414.
Mason, George C., 80; Jeremiah, 290, 419; John, 337.
Mather, Cotton, 144, 149.
Melvin, Capt., 167.
Merrill, John, 163; John, Jr., 163; Moses, 163; Thomas, 163.
Messell, Molly, 378.
Messer, Stephen D., 61.
Metcalf, Ralph, 390, 393, 398.
McClure, Dr., 423; Robert, 335.
McColley, James, 335; John, 337, 339, 343.
McCoy, William, 244.
McFarland, Asa, 173; Mr., 418, 421.
McKenzie, I., 391.
McLaren, Matilda G., 362, 484, 485.
McMurphy, Daniel, 337.
McNeil, Daniel, 339, 343; John, 344.
Miller, Frank W., 6.
Mitchell, John, 368; Surveyor, 373.
Monroe, Pres., 299.
Mooney, James, 389, 390, 391.
Moor, Fairbanks, 95.
Moore, J. Bailey, 353; Z. S., 432; Pres., 415; Prof., 415.
Morey, Israel, 407.
Morris, Gov., 29.
Morse, William H., 59.
Morrill, John, 164; Samuel, 164.
Morrison, Charles W., 176, 197; Leonard A., 353, 358.
Murkland, Charles S., 404.
Murrey, Widow, 341.
Mussey, Prof., 414.
Neff, Joseph, 149; Mary, 141, 149, 150, 151.
Nesmith, Anne, 217; Judge, 217.
Niles, Mr., 418; Nathaniel, 413, 414.
Noyes, James, 400; Mary L., 432.
Nutter, Eliphalet S., 164.
Odlin, Woodbridge, 6, 85, 92, 151, 199, 213, 279.
Olcott, Bulkley, 236; George, 257.
Ordway, John C., 9, 46, 48, 53, 91, 218, 222, 233, 257, 277, 279, 320, 349, 351, 361, 365, 400, 404, 406, 417, 426; Mrs. John C., 264.
Ordranax, John, 320, 333.
Orleans, Duke of, 313.
Osgood, James, 163, 164, 165, 169, 170, 171.
Page, Col., 310, 312; John, 207; John, Gov., 107; Nathaniel, 107; Samuel, 107.
Paine, Mr., 418.
Parker, Ch. Just., 379, 386.
Parsons, Theophilus, 31.
Patterson, James W., 12, 13, 39, 45, 89, 199, 279, 320.
Payson, Mr., 418.
Pecker, J. E., 4, 9, 11, 85, 91, 92, 176, 181, 219, 233, 257, 264, 288, 332, 351, 360.
Peckins, John, 240.
Penhallow, Benjamin, 299; Hunking, 299; John 299.
Pepperell, Col., 156.
Perkins, Nathan R., 301.
Peters, James, 162; Obadiah, 152, 156, 167, 168, 170, 172, 173; Seaborn, 163.
Phillipe, Louis, 297.
Phillips, John, 89, 413.
Pickard, Josiah L., 54.
Pickering, John, 27; William, 469, 470.
Pierce, Benjamin, 90, 332, 345, 424; Benjamin K., 283; Ephraim, 101; Frank H., 283; Franklin, 283, 398; John, 299; Kirk D., 332.
Pierpont, John, 173.
Pike, John, 145.
Pinckney, Charles C., 24, 25, 28, 34.
Pingree, Samuel E., 57.
Pillsbury, Jacob, 160, 163; Parker, 64.
Plaisted, Samuel, 301.
Plumer, William, 415, 416, 425.
Plumer, Gov., 290, 305.
Pomeroy, Benjamin, 391.
Poor, Daniel, 414, 422.
Pope, William, 338, 339.
Porter, George, 465; Howard L., 4, 8, 9, 91, 120; Prof., 414.
Potter, Chandler E., 397; Mrs. Chandler E., 6, 283; Frances M., 90; Jacob, 163.
Powers, Grant, 378, 398.
Pratt, Myron J., 198.
Prentice, John, 99; Nathaniel S., 247; Thomas, 98.
Prescott, Benjamin F., 210, 431, 432; Betsey H. R., 431; Nathan G., 431.
Preston, Will. A., 58.
Pudney, Henry, 163; John Jr., 164; Joseph, 162, 163; Samuel, 164; William, 163.
Putnam, William L., 398.
Quinn, Jeremiah, 163.
Randolph, Edmund, 24, 25, 26; John, 250.
Rantoul, Robert S., 39.

- Reed, James, 106; Mr., 45; Sylvanus, 89.
 Reeve, C. H., 56.
 Reeves, Arthur M., 68.
 Remick, Charles G., 165.
 Rice, William, 299.
 Richardson, John, 158; Joseph, 158; Judge, 416; W. M., 387.
 Ripley, Mr., 423.
 Rix, Nathaniel, 164.
 Roberts, Alexander, 167, 170, 172, 173.
 Robinson, Charles E., 282; H. L., 353; Joseph, 465.
 Rochambeau, Count, 298.
 Rogers, Daniel R., 299; James, 164; Samuel, 164.
 Rolfe, Benjamin, 161, 163, 164; Henry P., 478; Nathaniel, 162.
 Rollins, Edward H., 473, 476, 477, 478; Ellen W., 476, 477, 478.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 372.
 Rosebrook, Capt., 302.
 Rounds, C. C., 279.
 Roys, Jacob, 245.
 Rundlett, James, 299.
 Runnells, Moses T., 256.
 Rutledge, Mr., 313.
 Sabine, Abbey D., 362, 484, 485; Lorenzo, 355, 363, 484; Elizabeth M. D., 355, 362, 363, 484, 485.
 Safford, Nathaniel F., 39.
 Sanborn, Frank B., 39.
 Sanger, Eleazar, 247.
 Sargent, Charles W., 478; Cyrus, 264, 278; Harry G., 152, 219; J. E., 5, 8, 13, 39, 40, 85, 86, 91, 92, 120, 122; Jonathan, 338; Sterling, 469.
 Sasup, 403.
 Savage, Major, 298.
 Sawyer, Charles H., 13, 40.
 Scruton, Col., 332.
 Secomb, Daniel F., 11, 217, 430; John, 430; Mary Grace, 430; Rachel D., 430; Richard, 430.
 Sellers, William, 55.
 Sheafe, Jacob, 299.
 Sherburne, John S., 306.
 Shirley, Gov., 155, 157; John M., 409; Mr., 416.
 Short, Edward, 391.
 Shurtleff, Prof., 414, 415.
 Shute, Aaron, 160.
 Slafter, Edmund F., 65, 218.
 Sloane, W. H., 353.
 Smith, Adam, 15; Albert, 399; Jeremiah, 251, 290, 417; John B., 288, 332, 347; Mrs. John B., 332; Joshua B., 121; Judge, 304; Nathaniel, 162; Nathan, 413; Prof., 414; Roger, 353, Spalding, Edward H., 181; Isaac, 354. Sparhawk, Thomas, 105, 107, 247.
 Spence, Keith, 315; Keith, 315; Mary, 315.
 Spencer, Elizabeth, 236.
 Spofford, Charles B., 4, 354; Bradstreet, 102; John, 102, 106, 107; Moses, 234, 235, 236.
 Stalbird, Granny, 301.
 Staniels, R. P., 86, 177.
 Stanley, Matthew, 164.
 Stark, Caleb, 409; John, 28, 45, 253, 257, 409, 410.
 Starret, David, 341.
 Stearns, Abigail, 105; David, 105; Charles H., 471; Ezra S., 92, 218, 282, 354, 360, 364, 365, 406.
 St. Clair, John, 157.
 Steele, Moses, 338.
 Stebbins, Sylvester M., 256.
 Stevens, B. F., 4, 5, 177, 258; Elihu, 244, 248; Aaron, 163; Josiah, 248; Lyman D., 121, 176, 180, 197, 222, 261, 333, 354, 357, 401, 426; Paron, 248; Thaddeus, 163; Nathan, 162.
 Stewart, John H., 166.
 Stickney, Jeremiah, 163, 172; Thomas, 163, 172; William, 163, 167, 170, 172, 173.
 Stiles, Josiah G., 474.
 Stone, Benjamin P., 478; F. A., 39; Frederick D., 59; Matthias, 239, 252.
 Storm, Gustav, 68.
 Stover, John, 313.
 Sullivan, George, 385, 388, 393; James, 290, 467; John, 32, 33, 45, 178, 290, 313.
 Sulloway, Alvah W., 401; Mrs. Alvah W., 401.
 Sumner, Benjamin, 235, 246, 247, 254, William, 253.
 Taggart, James, 343; William, 338.
 Tallant, Hugh, 162; John L., 171.
 Tappan, Charles L., 8, 11, 61, 62, 91, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218, 219, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 279, 280, 282, 283, 288, 349, 351, 352, 354, 357, 358, 360, 364, 365, 401, 405; Mason W., 87.
 Taylor, David, 102; Joseph, 253.
 Tennyson, Lord, 60.
 Ticknor, George, 414.
 Thatcher, Henry K., 47; Peter, 418.
 Thayer, Silvanus, 414.
 Theresa, Maria, 154.
 Thom, Isaac, 210; Persis, 210; Persis S., 310.

- Thompson, Lucien, 121; Miss, 353; Mr., 418.
- Thorndike, Charles H., 164.
- Thorne, Mrs. Calvin, 261; John C., 355.
- Thorstein, 70.
- Thorvald, 69, 70, 199.
- Todd, Andrew, 209; Elizabeth, 209; James, 209; Rachel N., 209.
- Torrey, Pres., 414.
- Towle, E. S. 472, 473, 474, 475.
- Townsend, John, 467.
- Tracy, Leonard, 240.
- Trail, Robert, 296, 304.
- Trask, William B., 39.
- Trumble, Judah, 162.
- Tuttle Charles W., 9, 63.
- Tyler, Austin, 240; Benjamin, 235, 236; John, 236.
- Upham, George B., 250, 251, 253; Jabez, 250, 253; Jabez, Jr, 250; N. L., 7; Prof., 414; Timothy, 7.
- Vaughan, Charles R., 392; William, 155, 156.
- Virgin, Ebenezer, 162.
- Wait, Albert S., 264, 284, 286, 348, 351, 360, 361; Joseph, 242, 244, 245; Otis F. R., 234, 255.
- Waldron, Isaac, 163, 299.
- Walker, Abel, 242; Abiel, 464, 466; Abigail B., 281; Isaac, 164, 120; Isaac, Jr., 162; John S., 217, 255, 263, 277, 283, 284, 286, 288; Joseph B., 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 45, 61, 62, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 119, 120, 159, 162, 165, 176, 178, 181, 199, 213, 214, 220, 221, 222, 232, 233, 260, 279, 283, 288, 320, 333, 348, 349, 356, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 397, 400, 405; Timothy, 89; Timothy, Jr., 163; Timothy, Rev., 159, 161, 162, 169; William, 164.
- Warren, B. S., 120; Peter, 157.
- Washburn, Israel, 371, 398.
- Washington, George, 17, 23, 35, 299, 313. Mrs. George, 48.
- Watson, Irving A., 9.
- Weare, Meshech, 45, 304, 310.
- Webb, W. Seward, 354.
- Webber, Samuel, 256.
- Webster, Daniel, 33, 34, 46, 217, 299, 393, 394, 395, 400; John, 162; Sidney, 398.
- Weeks, James W., 399.
- Wentworth, Benning, 161, 162, 234, 249, 271, 299, 412; Col., 298; John, 89, 115, 155, 156, 157, 158, 249, 338.
- West, Benjamin, 27, 32; Edward, 163; John, 468; Joseph C., 468; Nathaniel, 164.
- Wetherbee, Bette, 103; Elizabeth, 103; Ephraim, 95, 101, 102, 103, 106; Joab, 103, 106; Joanna B., 106; Mary, 103; Paul, 103.
- Wheaton, George, 237, 238.
- Wheeler, Ephraim, 101; Pres., 414.
- Wheelock, Pres., 89, 415, 417, 418, 419, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425; Eleazer, 409, 410; John, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 423; Ralph, 416.
- Whipple, Catharine, 296; John, 292, 293; John, Rev., 292, 293; Joseph, 293, 296, 297; Joseph, 296; Joseph, 265, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 357; Joseph B., 320; Mary, 297; Matthew, 292, 293; Robert C., 296; William, 293, 294, 297; William, 292, 296.
- Whitcher, Ira, 354.
- White, John H., 385, 386, 387, 389, 392, 393, 399.
- Whitman, Walt, 60.
- Whitmarsh, J., 354.
- Woodbury, Charles L., 39; Levi, 414.
- Woodward, Mr., 423.
- Worcester, Samuel T., 9.
- Worthen, Augusta H., 259.
- Wilde, Judge, 414.
- Wilder, Hannah, 98.
- Wilkins, J. H., 469; Robert B., 343; Timothy, 338.
- Willard, Dorcas C., 98; Elijah, 240; Hannah W., 101; Henry, 98; Joseph, 100; Joseph, 100; Joseph, 107; Josiah, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 105, 234; Josiah, Maj., 101; Josiah, Jr., 95, 98, 101; Miriam, 106; Moses, 97, 102, 107; Nathan, 98, 102; Oliver, 98, 102; Prudence, 98; Samson, 98; Simeon, 98; Susannah, 98; Susannah L., 100; Wilder, 98, 102; William, 95, 99; William, 100.
- Williams, Roger, 79; William, 338; Woolmer, 39.
- Wilson, James, 31; Mary M., 427; Milton W., 427.
- Wingate, J. C. A., 263, 264, 280, 286.
- Winthrop, John, 427.
- Wyman, Seth, 267.
- Young, Ira, 389, 393, 399.



F
31
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